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BYGONE LIVERPOOL



Liverpool, circa 1680.

BYGONE LIVERPOOL

ILLUSTRATED BY NINETY-SEVEN PLATES
REPRODUCED FROM ORIGINAL PAINTINGS
DRAWINGS MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTS
WITH HISTORICAL DESCRIPTIONS BY
HENRY S. AND HAROLD E. YOUNG

AND A NARRATIVE INTRODUCTION BY

RAMSAY MUIR

AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF LIVERPOOL"

LIVERPOOL
HENRY YOUNG AND SONS
MCMXIII

PRINTED AT
THE BALLANTYNE PRESS
LONDON

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

THE object of this work is to present a picture of Liverpool in the making; to give a brief account of some of the historic landmarks, and industrial activities; to draw attention to the periodic changes which have taken place in the town and port; and to review the circumstances which have brought those changes about.

The nature of this effort precludes the possibility of its being accomplished by one person unassisted; because no individual or institution possesses the material for it. The work is, therefore, the result of the friendly co-operation of several individuals interested in the many-sided history of Liverpool; and the publishers desire to place on record their sense of the obligation they feel to those who have so generously assisted them in their endeavours. To Professor Ramsay Muir the publishers' thanks are primarily due, and are gratefully offered, for the encouragement he gave to the proposal as soon as it was laid before him; and also for his invaluable aid in contributing the Introduction to the work.

The publishers desire, also, to acknowledge their indebtedness to Mr. W. Fergusson Irvine, M.A., F.S.A., for his advice and assistance, and for allowing them to use extracts from his published works.

Their thanks are also due, and are freely offered, to the Right Hon. the Earl of Sefton, Mr. John Rankin, Messrs. Rankin, Gilmour & Co., Ltd., and to Mr. T. F. Harrison, for the use of many interesting drawings, and for information respecting them.

The publishers also tender their thanks to the Committee of the Free Public Libraries, Museums, and Art Gallery, to the Members of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board, and to the Committee of the Athenæum.

Their thanks are also due to Mr. T. A. Bellew and Mr. F. C. Danson for information and suggestions, and to Mr. George T. Shaw, Chief Librarian of the Liverpool Free Public Libraries, and his Assistants, Messrs. Curran, Robertson, Parry, and May, for much practical help which their intimate knowledge of the rich contents of our public reference libraries enabled them to afford. To Dr. Clubb, Curator of the Liverpool Museums, and the Deputy-Curator, Mr. Peter Entwistle, F.R.A.I., the publishers are also under an obligation for their assistance in the choice of specimens of Liverpool china ware and pottery, and for information respecting the Liverpool potters.

The publishers desire also to thank Messrs. Parsons and Broomhall for the very kind and generous manner in which they assisted in the examination of the first Liverpool tunnels and stations at Crown Street and Wapping, with the object of investigating the statement in regard to them made by T. T. Bury in his book on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway.

12 South Castle Street, Liverpool
October 1913

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INTRODUCTION

I

FEW cities which can boast an antiquity at all comparable with that of Liverpool have so ruthlessly obliterated all the visible memorials of their past. Though it is seven hundred years since the borough was founded, it contains no building of any importance which is two hundred and fifty years old, and only two (St. Peter's Church and the old Bluecoat School, both apparently doomed to destruction) which carry us back as far as two hundred years. Scores of towns and villages of less antiquity and dignity than Liverpool can at least show a church dating back to the fourteenth century or earlier. But Liverpool has demolished its ancient churches, and rebuilt them in modern style : the church of Walton, which was mentioned in Domesday Book, and is the mother-church of all this district, was rebuilt in instalments during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries ; the ancient Liverpool chapel of St. Nicholas, which had been the centre of the life of the borough ever since its erection in the middle of the fourteenth century, was demolished and rebuilt by our unsentimental ancestors during the same period ; the still more ancient little chapel of St. Mary of the Quay vanished altogether.

Some big towns, like Newcastle or Nottingham, can point with pride to a mediæval fortress, preserved with care as a proof of ancient dignity. Liverpool was once in the almost unique position of possessing two mediæval fortresses, a fine castle, erected early in the thirteenth century, and an embattled tower by the water's edge, fortified at the beginning of the fifteenth century. These buildings were encrusted with historical associations. They had withstood sieges, they had entertained kings and princes, among them the gallant Prince Rupert, they had given refuge to fugitives and formed prisons for captives of war. But the prosaic townsmen, despising sentimentalism, have utterly swept them away. The Castle was demolished early in the eighteenth century, to make room for a church and a market, which have in their turn given place to a royal memorial. The Tower was allowed to survive till the nineteenth century. It served a great variety of purposes. Now it was used as a debtors' gaol, again as a place of captivity for French prisoners of war, who made and sold toys like the hero of Stevenson's *St. Ives*, and like him sometimes contrived brave escapes ; and yet again it played the part of an Assembly Room, where ladies in hooped skirts and powdered hair danced minuets with young sparks in flowered satin. After passing through all these vicissitudes the Tower was pulled down in 1819 in order that Water Street might be widened. It would no doubt have

cost a little more to widen the street on the other side. To-day the memory of these ancient fortresses, which might have added so much to the charm and dignity of the city, is preserved only in the names of Castle Street and Tower Buildings.

This destruction of historic buildings was not the only way in which our predecessors wiped out the memory of the older Liverpool. In a degree scarcely to be paralleled, the topographical character of the city's site has been altered. The most distinctive feature of the geography of old Liverpool was the Pool, a tidal inlet from the river, which enclosed the whole of the little walled borough down to the middle of the seventeenth century, but ran through what is now the very centre of the city; its course is marked by the line of Paradise Street, Whitechapel and the Old Haymarket, and beneath the granite setts at the junction of Church Street and Lord Street, where to-day the lifted hand of the policeman regulates the busiest traffic of the city, there is said to lie buried an old bridge which once led across the Pool to the open gorsey common now covered by shops, theatres and railway-stations. The Pool gave the city the last syllable of its name. It was the harbour where during the centuries of small things the boats of fishermen and petty traders took refuge from the swift currents of th river; it gave anchorage to ships of war during the sieges of the Civil War. If it could have been walled in and deepened, it would have added vastly to the amenities of the city. But its broad mouth was used for the construction of the first dock early in the eighteenth century, and its upper reaches dried up. So the making of docks began the alteration of Liverpool geography, and has continued to affect it. The docks, as they were built, were pushed out into the river, and thus the river-line was changed: as several of the pictures in this book show, the water used to rise to the very walls of St. Nicholas' churchyard and the Tower: and all the ground in front of this line, where the buildings by which we best know our own town have been erected, is "made" ground, won from the river during the last century and a half. So vast are the changes which have been wrought during the last two centuries in the aspect of our city that it is only with great difficulty that we can reconstruct some dim picture of the older Liverpool.

II

If Liverpool has been strangely indifferent to the fate of its old buildings, it has been unusually fortunate in the pictorial presentation of its past. Since the middle of the eighteenth century, when the city began to be proud of its own greatness, an immense number of paintings, drawings and plans of the city as a whole, or of picturesque corners within it, have been produced, many of them the work of

artists of some distinction, or at least of draughtsmen not without skill in the rendering of topographical features. During the same period antiquaries have spent infinite pains and time in collecting every stray indication of the appearance of the old city. Two men deserve especial commemoration for the service they rendered in this way. The first is Thomas Binns, who got together during the first half of the nineteenth century a very large number of prints, drawings, maps and plans, which fill thirty-four large folio volumes. The Binns Collection was wisely acquired by the City Library in 1854, and became the nucleus of a remarkably rich and varied collection to which the wise policy of the directors of the Library have added whenever occasion offered. The second and the greater of these benefactors was W. G. Herdman, who was not only an antiquary but an artist. With Herdman the study and reproduction of the external aspect of old Liverpool was a lifelong interest. He made innumerable drawings, some of them recording with taste and skill the interesting features of the Liverpool of his own day, but most of them reconstructions based upon older and cruder sketches. In 1843 and 1856 he published two series of lithographs of his drawings under the title of " Pictorial Relics of Ancient Liverpool ; " and in 1878 the bulk of these designs, redrawn to suit the needs of autotype reproduction, were re-issued in two volumes. It is through Herdman's " Pictorial Relics, " which have been frequently reproduced, that most Liverpool men have acquired what knowledge they possess of the older Liverpool. The innumerable original water-colours and other drawings of Herdman are scattered in many places. Many of them have gone to enrich the City Library. A very large number were given by Mr. John Rankin to adorn the new offices of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board.

But, good as they are, Herdman's drawings are for the most part only reconstructions, not originals; and their very excellence, and the popularity they have deservedly won, have tended to conceal from Liverpool people the variety and richness of the pictorial materials which the city possesses for the reconstruction of its past. Hence Messrs. Young have done a real service to lovers of our city by getting together the excellent series of drawings, plans and other illustrations contained in the present volume. In the nature of things, the collection cannot be complete. But it is representative ; it contains much that has not been in any form available to the public until now ; and it embraces a wider range than any previous published collection. It is to be hoped that the possession and study of this delectable volume will tempt the reader to explore the too much neglected treasures of the City Library, and perhaps even to study the history of the city itself. Any reader who is thus tempted should be told beforehand that the authorities of the City Library have provided an

admirable guide to the subject in their " Catalogue of Liverpool Prints and Documents." This solid piece of work, which forms a handsome quarto volume of 372 pages, was issued in 1908, and is probably the most complete thing of its kind to be found in English.

III

It is the object of this essay to describe in broad outline the character of the changes which have come about in the external aspect of Liverpool, so far as they are illustrated by the pictures contained in this volume. From this point of view, the history of the city may be broken into four periods, of very unequal length, and very unequally represented in the pictures.

The first period is that in which the town was still confined practically within its ancient limits—a modest little cluster of unpretending houses, dominated by the Castle, surrounded by a rude wall, and enclosed within the triangle between the river and the Pool. This period occupies almost the whole of the first five centuries of the city's history. It may be said to end with the erection of St. Peter's Church (1700–4) which was the first important building on the waste land beyond the Pool. The pictorial records of this long period of small things are extremely exiguous ; such as we have either belong to the very close of the period, or are re-constructions based mainly on literary evidence.

The second period occupies the first half of the eighteenth century, before the Industrial Revolution had begun. During this half-century Liverpool was advancing steadily, and at the end of it was already the third among English ports. She was still a modest little town, but she was proud of her growing prosperity, and was anxious rather to obliterate than to preserve the memorials of her humble past. This period saw the opening of the first dock, and as a consequence the removal of the Pool, the chief landmark of the older Liverpool ; it saw also the demolition of the Castle, that monument of the feudal age. The vigorous little port of this period had not yet begun to be interested in her own past, and there are few drawings belonging to these years ; fortunately, however, two valuable pictures of Liverpool as seen from the river survive.

The third period, extending from about 1760 to 1815, was a period of immense activity and very rapid change. These were the years when the Industrial Revolution was turning into one vast humming workshop the whole of the area served by the Port of Liverpool. These were years also of unceasing warfare, during which England became the mistress of the seas, and her ports, of which Liverpool was now the second, became the centres of oceanic trade. In this warfare the men of Liverpool played no small part, sending out

swarms of daring privateers. Wealth poured into the town, and population doubled and quadrupled itself, immigrants flocking in from the surrounding countryside to take part in the rude and turbulent adventures of slavers and privateers or in the heavy labours of loading and unloading. New docks had to be built to accommodate the growing shipping. The old and narrow streets were packed with a swarming population, and new quarters sprang up mushroom-like on the outskirts. The well-to-do classes erected for themselves streets and squares of a solid and unpretending comfort, and the merchant princes built mansions among the trees on Everton Hill or even farther afield; while the labouring mass swarmed and pullulated in ill-built and insanitary courts, alleys and cellars. No attempt was made to regulate the growth of the town, for the Town Council, though it could endeavour to secure dignity in the immediate neighbourhood of the Town Hall, felt no responsibility for the welfare of the community as a whole, being at this period an irresponsible and self-elected body. Thus Liverpool was endowed by this generation with a terrible heritage of woe. But if we are struck by the lack of civic sense in this aspect, it was not lacking in others. With wealth came some degree of cultivation, and some pride in the growth of the town's greatness. This was the age of Roscoe, the very model of a cultivated provincial magnate. The new civic pride showed itself in a succession of books on the history and antiquities of the town, and in a fertile if not very distinguished artistic activity. Innumerable drawings recorded the rapidly changing aspect of the growing town, and helped to preserve the memory of its past: a large proportion of the drawings contained in the present volume belong to this period.

The fourth and last period represented in the following pictures covers the period 1815 to 1875. It was, for Liverpool as for England at large, a period on the one hand of political reorganization, and on the other hand of very rapid growth in material prosperity. It saw the coming of the steamboat and the railway. The population of the town grew more rapidly than ever; the old limits of the borough were overpassed, and the neighbouring townships on both sides of the river were quickly overspread with an urban population. The docks were enormously multiplied in size and number. Acres of ground were covered every year with streets of monotonous uniformity, and the area of meanness and ugliness was immensely enlarged; Liverpool came to be known as "the black spot on the Mersey." But this age saw also the growth of a new civic sense, especially after the institution of a representative Town Council in 1835. The central streets were widened and reconstructed on a more dignified plan. The Town Council at last took in hand the problem of dealing with the appalling conditions of the poorer quarters of

the town, and although they did not achieve much apparent improvement, they at least checked the multiplication of the worst kind of slums, and began the long and painful process of clearing away those which had been inherited from the previous period. In all sorts of practical ways the material equipment of the town was steadily improved; it was a period of real progress in sanitation, in the supply of good water, in paving and lighting, in building regulations. It is true that the intellectual renascence which had begun so well in the days of Roscoe died out—destroyed partly by the concentration of the townsmen upon their material prosperity, and partly by the railway, which brought Liverpool too directly under the influence of London. It is true also that one can perceive among the well-to-do of this period a general decline in taste and in intellectual interests, from which there was to be no real recovery until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. But at least civic pride was becoming more generous in its outlook. It began to insist that the external aspect of the town should be made more worthy of its greatness and wealth. New public buildings of real dignity and impressiveness began to arise: the Custom House, the wonderful St. George's Hall, the City Library and Museum, the Gallery of Art, the big secondary schools, belong to this period, and at the end of it the outskirts of the town began to be relieved by the creation of spacious parks and playgrounds. On the whole the period is one of a growing civic sense, preparing the way for that still finer period which was to follow, but which is not dealt with in this book.
We shall attempt, with the aid of the pictures, to survey the external development of the town during each of these periods in turn.

IV

We are fortunate in possessing excellent materials for reconstructing the appearance of Liverpool at the end of the seventeenth century; and as its aspect at that date was very much what it must have been at any time during the three previous centuries, the absence of earlier drawings[1] is of comparatively little importance. Our most valuable authority is the oil-painting which is reproduced as the frontispiece to this volume. It is known as the "Peters" painting,[2] because after being in possession of the Liverpool family of that name it was presented by Mr. Ralph Peters to the corporation in 1818. According to the donor, the title of the picture is "Liverpool in 1680," and that must be about the date: it cannot be much earlier because it shows

[1] A drawing published by Herdman purporting to represent Liverpool in the early middle age has no authenticity, and is demonstrably wrong at many points.
[2] For a detailed account of this painting and its history and of the Peters family, see the article by Mr. R. Stewart-Brown in the "Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire" for 1908.

the second Town Hall, which was begun in 1673 ; and other indications show that it cannot be much later. This picture is the sole authentic view of Liverpool before 1700 : all the drawings which claim to represent Liverpool in 1644 or 1650 are merely more or less accurate copies of the Peters painting. Supplemented by Mr. Irvine's excellent plan of Liverpool in 1668 (Plate II), this picture enables us to realize quite adequately the appearance of the town as it was before it began to develop rapidly ; and we are enabled to identify practically every house with the aid of the minute account of Liverpool in 1668 which was written by one of the chief men of the town of that date, Sir Edward Moore.[1]

The Liverpool of 1680 was still a compact little mediæval town, confined within the triangle which was enclosed between the Pool and the river. The northernmost buildings were on the line of Chapel Street and Tithebarn Street ; the southernmost on the line of James Street and Lord Street. In the picture Chapel Street is shown on the extreme left, while the entrance to the Pool (where the Custom House now is) is on the extreme right. A later imaginary reconstruction, which is shown in Plate V, gives perhaps a clearer idea of the way in which the Pool curved round the town. The land beyond the Pool, where Church Street and Lime Street were to be laid out later, is not visible in the picture ; but building had scarcely yet begun in this region. It was still a heathy waste ; and a track (Park Lane) ran across it to the old deer park of Toxteth (by this time turned into small farms), which began at the line of the modern Parliament Street. The town was still confined within its ancient limits, and its chief streets were still the original seven, which had in all probability been laid out by the agents of King John.[2] New streets had, indeed, begun to be cut during the twenty years before the picture was painted, such as Fenwick Street and Moor Street, which can be seen in the picture, and Lord Street, cut through Lord Molyneux's orchard, which is hidden by the rising ground. Two new public buildings also had just been brought into being, signs of the growing prosperity of the little town. One of these was the second Town Hall, which stood in the middle of the market-place in front of its modern successor, and was raised on arches like the old market-halls which can still be seen in little country towns. The turret and crown of the new Town Hall are visible at the back of the Peters painting, and a front view of it will be found in Plate VI. The other new building was a Custom House, the third building devoted

[1] Admirably edited by Mr. W. Fergusson Irvine under the title of "Liverpool in the Reign of Charles II." Mr. Irvine has enriched the edition with an invaluable introduction, and two excellent maps based upon his own exhaustive researches.

[2] High Street (or Juggler Street), Castle Street, Oldhall Street, Water Street, Chapel Street, Dale Street, Tithebarn Street (or Moor Street).

to this purpose,[1] which had been erected on the shore at the bottom of Water Street shortly before the picture was painted. A more detailed treatment of the Custom House will be found in Plate xxix. These were all signs of growth ; but the outstanding and dominating features of the town were still the structures of the mediæval period, and if a Liverpool man of the fifteenth or sixteenth century could have revisited Liverpool in 1680, he would have found no difficulty in recognizing the place. He would certainly have recognized the Castle, which stands out boldly on the right of the picture. It was over four and a half centuries old when this picture was painted ; it was already falling into ruins, and was only to survive for a few years longer, for it was demolished between 1709 and 1717. The Peters painting is probably the only trustworthy representation of the Castle by a contemporary artist ; to obtain an idea of its appearance in detail we must trust to the scholarly reconstruction which Mr. E. W. Cox[2] worked out from such information as we possess. This will be found in Plate iii.

At the extreme left of the picture will be seen the Chapel of St. Nicholas (not yet a parish church), which must have appeared in 1680 very much as it had done during the three centuries and a quarter for which it had existed at that date. The unpretending building shown in front of it, at the water's edge, had long been used to house the Grammar School. It was probably even older than the chapel ; it seemed "a notable piece of antiquity" to the traveller Blome, who visited Liverpool a few years before this picture was painted ; and most likely represents the ancient chapel of St. Mary of the Quay, which existed before St. Nicholas' itself, and had possibly been built in the thirteenth century. Both the chapel and the school would be familiar ground to our imaginary *revenant ;* equally with the Liverpool man of 1680 he had prayed within the walls of the one, and been whipped within the walls of the other. The man of 1480 and the man of 1680 had common associations, but neither of them had any such links of association with the man of 1880. Surely there is a real loss to the city in the severance of such links.

And there was still another building which our *revenant* would recognize with pleasure. This was the Tower,[3] which appears in the middle of the picture, on the sea-front at the bottom of Water Street. It is shown in fuller detail in Plate xx, as it appeared in the

[1] Next to nothing is known about its predecessors, which seem to have been in High Street and Moor Street respectively. The latter can only have been in use for a few years.

[2] Mr. Cox's elaborate article, which is the chief authority on the architecture of the Castle, will be found in the "Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire" for 1892.

[3] The best account of the Tower is by Mr. R. Stewart Brown in the "Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire" for 1909.

eighteenth century, and Plate IV gives a very picturesque view of both the Tower and the Chapel. The Tower was not far from three hundred years old at the date of the picture, and during all but the last few years of that long period it had served as the Liverpool house of the Stanleys, Earls of Derby, long honoured as the "patrons of the poor decayed town of Liverpool." The man of 1480 had seen armed men assembled in it; the man of 1580 had shared in banquets given to the townsmen here by their great patron; the man of 1680 knew it as a mansion rented by one of the richest of his fellow townsmen and still occasionally used for public functions. But the man of 1913, when he passes the flaunting structure of white tiles now known as Tower Buildings, is not challenged to any memories of his remote predecessors.

The visible continuity of Liverpool's history had not yet been broken in 1680; it was still the modest little mediæval town, though it was beginning to grow. No building in Liverpool to-day is as old as the Castle, the Tower, the Chapel and the School were on the day on which this picture was painted, nearly two hundred and fifty years ago: indeed, no building in Liverpool to-day is as old as this picture itself. It is a happy thing that the aspect of the picturesque little town is preserved to us, just at the moment when its transformation was beginning, and we may well be grateful to the unknown Dutch artist who painted the picture.

V

It was during the first half of the eighteenth century that the breach with mediæval Liverpool was made. Within a generation after the Peters picture was painted the whole appearance of the town was transformed, and a Liverpool man who had left the place in 1695 and returned in 1730 would have found it difficult to recognize his birthplace. The extent of the change which these years had brought about is shown very clearly by a plan and two perspective drawings, all belonging to the period when the greatest changes had just been made. The plan, made by J. Chadwick in 1725 (Plate IX), is the earliest plan of Liverpool based on a survey. One of the two drawings, by J. Buck (Plate X), is definitely dated 1728. The other (of which only one copy is known to survive) is apparently, dated 1725, but was probably a few years later[1] (Plate XI). Though

[1] Both drawings show St. George's Church, or which Chadwick's plan (1725) gives no indication. The plans of St. George's were not made till 1726, and the church was not opened till 1734. The representation of it in Buck's 1728 drawing must have been inserted from the architect's design, and this view is borne out by the fact that while correctly given in detail, it is altogether out of proportion to its surroundings, appearing much too large. In the supposed 1725 drawing St. George's Church is shown in correct

its scale is rather small in the reproduction, it is the more skilful drawing of the two ; and being taken from the Cheshire shore, about Seacombe, it gives a better impression of the appearance of the port as a whole.

The greatest change which these drawings record is the disappearance of the Pool, which had been for so many centuries the dominating feature of Liverpool geography. Between 1709 and 1715 its broad mouth had been walled in, supplied with lock-gates, and so turned into the first dock ; its upper reaches had been gradually filled up and made ready for the line of streets represented by Paradise Street and Whitechapel, though in 1725, as the plan shows, and for some years afterwards, this street was not yet occupied with buildings ; the soil was wet and treacherous, as is suggested by the names Frog Lane and Common Shore, long borne by these streets. It was, of course, the most natural thing in the world that, when the townsmen resolved to make a safer harbour for their growing shipping, they should adapt the old harbour for this purpose ; but it cannot be denied that in doing so they made a grave breach in the historical continuity of Liverpool, and sacrificed a fine opportunity of adding to the amenities of the town.

The same years that saw the disappearance of the Pool saw the disappearance also of the next most ancient and noteworthy landmark —the Castle, which had for so long dominated the town. In 1704 the Corporation had obtained from the crown a lease of the Castle with licence to demolish it and lay out its site. The bulk of the fabric was pulled down between 1709 and 1717, and the last trace of this ancient and picturesque stronghold, a wall which ran across the top of Lord Street, vanished in 1725. Before this date the little old Grammar School had also gone, the school being transferred in 1722 to a building in School Lane which had recently been abandoned by the Blue-Coat charity. Of the old landmarks only St. Nicholas' Church and the Tower now remained. The appearance of St. Nicholas' was radically altered by the addition of a new aisle in 1718 and by the erection of a spire above the tower in 1746. The aspect of the church as thus altered can be seen in Plate XXIV, which also shows the fort made in the churchyard for the defence of the town during the alarms of the Seven Years War. Even the two public buildings which were new in 1680, had vanished by 1750. The third Custom House at the bottom of Water Street was replaced by a fourth and much more pretentious Custom House at the head of the Dock, which was in existence in 1725. It is shown in Chadwick's plan, and its appearance at a later date can be seen in Plate LXXXIV. The Town Hall of 1673 also vanished. There are

proportion. This seems to make it impossible to accept the 1725 date. The date is taken from the stern of one of the ships. It is possible either that the date is not meant to refer to the drawing, or that it is an engraver's mistake for 1735.

complaints of its decay and inadequacy trom 1740. In 1749 plans were accepted for a new Town Hall from John Wood, the famous Bath architect. The new building, the handsomest structure yet erected in Liverpool, was opened in 1754, and in the same year the older building was destroyed. Thus by 1760 only the Tower remained among the outstanding buildings which appear in the picture of 1680. The new Town Hall in its first form may be seen in Plate VII.

The Town Hall was not the only new public building of importance which was brought into existence in the first half of the eighteenth century. Besides partially reconstructing St. Nicholas' Church, the townsmen in this period erected no less than three new churches, largely at the public cost. The first of them was St. Peter's, begun in 1700, when Liverpool was turned into a separate parish ; till that date it had remained part of the parish of Walton. This was the first building of importance to be erected on the old common beyond the Pool. The octagonal tower of St. Peter's can be seen in the background of both of the general views of this period ; its appearance in detail is shown in Plate XLVIII. It is curious to note that this is the first building to which we have had to allude which remains to-day as it was when these early drawings were made. The second new church was St. George's, erected between 1726 and 1734 on part of the site of the old Castle, and figured in Plate LXXXII. Built on the little plateau of rock which had given the Castle its commanding position, it stood well above the level of the surrounding streets, and it was not until St. George's Church was demolished a few years ago that the last of this outcrop of rock was shaved away. By 1750 a third new church, St. Thomas's, with a very graceful spire, was erected in Park Lane. The three spires and the tower of St. Peter's were now the outstanding features of the town as seen from the river. One more new building of this period deserves more than a passing notice. It was the first of the great Liverpool charities, the Blue-Coat School (see Plate XCIII) and was a very charming building occupying three sides of a quiet cobbled courtyard. Erected in 1716–17, the old Blue-Coat School still survives, and is the only building we possess which preserves an old-world charm in the heart of the city. Yet even this, it seems, is destined to disappear.

Alongside of this replacement of old landmarks by new, there was or course a rapid expansion of the town. The house-covered area doubled and trebled during the first half of the eighteenth century. Almost the whole of the old triangle was now closely set with streets : the limits which had lasted for so many centuries were definitely burst, and houses and streets spilled over to north and south. But the chief expansion was southward, beyond the old Pool, because here much of the land was still waste ground, belonging to the

Corporation, while to the north were cultivated fields, more costly to acquire. The earliest regions to be covered with houses in this direction were the shore-district by the Park Lane, and the triangle between Hanover Street, Church Street and Whitechapel. But within forty years of the opening of the first dock this region had grown so much that it was almost as large as the older town to the north of the Pool. Hanover Street and the quiet little Cleveland Square had become residential quarters of some pretensions, though many of the leading townsmen still lived in Castle Street and the older quarters of the town.

It is thus a striking change that passed over Liverpool in the first half of the eighteenth century. It was now an active and growing town of some 25,000 inhabitants. It had definitely shed its mediæval skin, and was setting out upon a new career. The sleepy little town with its mouldering Castle, its modest ancient Chapel, and its muddy little haven has been replaced by a brisk spreading place, with docks[1] and wharves for its growing shipping, equipped with public buildings of some pretensions, and only eager to wipe out the memory of its modest past.

VI

The first half of the eighteenth century had obliterated the landmarks of the older Liverpool, but scarcely any part of the constructive work of that period was to have permanence. Its dock was to be filled up, its Town Hall reconstructed, its favourite church demolished, its narrow and tortuous streets widened and rebuilt. It was during the second half of the century that the main characteristics of modern Liverpool were fixed; the directions of all its principal thoroughfares outside the original limits of the little mediæval town remain as they were then determined, and in so far as the plan of Liverpool is confused or inconvenient, the confusion and the inconvenience are to be attributed to the circumstances of that age.

The years from 1760 to 1815 form the most interesting period in the history of Liverpool. It was the age of romance, packed with stories of the rude adventures of privateersmen and slave-traders. It was the age of war, when, apart from their zeal for privateering, the men of Liverpool were raising regiments, drilling as Volunteers, erecting forts for the defence of the town, and when the taverns were haunted by the press-gang, and the busy river constantly visited by men-of-war on active service. It was the age of industrial revolution, when the great industries of Lancashire, Yorkshire and the Midlands were assuming their modern form, and Liverpool, their central port and market, was also developing a number of interesting

[1] A second dock, the Salthouse, was begun in 1734.

industries of her own, ship-building, iron-founding, whale-fishing, tobacco-refining, watch-making, rope-making, pottery, most of which have since died out. It was an age of eager enterprise in the development of communications, when the first great canals were being made and good turnpike roads and rapid coaches were bringing to an end the isolation in which the town had hitherto existed. It was an age of ever-expanding activity in the discovery of new markets, when the ships of Liverpool were for the first time finding their way to every part of the world. And, as a consequence, it was an age of expansion of unexampled rapidity both in trade and in population. The population rose from about 25,000 in 1760 to about 100,000 in 1815; the shipping of the port was also multiplied fourfold in the same period. To accommodate the inrush of population the old part of the town was packed with incredible closeness, while new streets spread outwards with very great rapidity. To accommodate the shipping new docks had to be built. The Salthouse Dock had been opened in 1753; the George's Dock, made out of the foreshore in front of the Tower and St. Nicholas' Church, was opened in 1771; while to the south the King's Dock, opened in 1788, the Queen's Dock, opened in 1796 and the Union Dock, opened in 1816, together with tidal basins and graving docks, filled up the whole of the foreshore as far south as the limits of the township of Liverpool, marked by Parliament Street. The water-area of the docks was multiplied fivefold during this period, and all the docks were crowded as soon as they were opened.

It is obviously impossible to follow in detail the changes in the external aspect of Liverpool brought about by all this immense activity. Fortunately it is the less necessary, because Liverpool men in this period were keenly interested in the amazing growth of their own town, and have left a vast number of drawings and descriptions of the changing aspect of the place. Three histories of the town were published during these years. One of these in particular, the anonymous "General and Descriptive Account of the Ancient and Present State of the Town of Liverpool," which was published in 1795, may be cordially recommended to those who would like to know more of the town in this period of transition; while Mr. Brooke's "Liverpool during the last quarter of the eighteenth century," though only a hodge-podge of undigested material, contains a great amount of interesting stuff. The pictures of the town during this period are so numerous that the only difficulty is that of selection; special gratitude is due to Mr. John Foster, who made a very large number of sketches of streets and buildings at the end of the eighteenth century, many of which were subsequently worked up by W. G. Herdman, W. Herdman and J. I. Herdman.

In the present volume the excellent plan of 1796 (Plate xv) gives us

the opportunity of studying the main directions of the town's growth, and a series of general views helps us to realize the aspect of the town and river at different parts of the period and from different points or view. The earliest of the series in date are a pair of drawings made by Michael Angelo Rooker in 1770 (Plates XIII and XIV), the first of which shows the river-front as seen from Seacombe, while the second gives an interesting prospect from the landward side, the stand-point being a bowling-green which stood on the site of the play-ground of the Liverpool Institute, opposite to St. James's Cemetery and the new cathedral. In the river view (Plate XIII) the outstanding features are the dome of the new St. Paul's Church, opened in 1769, the spire of St. Nicholas', with the new St. George's dock in front of it, the old Goree warehouses backed by the spire of St. George's, and further south the spire of St. Thomas's. It is worth noting that the area of the old town, as shown in the Peters painting, is represented in this view only by the space between the two central spires of St. Nicholas' and St. George's ; and the picture brings out very plainly what is also illustrated by the plan, that the expansion has been mainly to the southwards. This also appears, though less clearly, in the land view (Plate XIV). The dome of St. Paul's, at the extreme north end of the town, appears in the centre of the picture, with the low dome of the Town Hall to its left. At the extreme right is the new workhouse, just erected out in the open country at the top of Mount Pleasant, and in the foreground are the first houses of Rodney Street.

Next in order of date comes the interesting, if rather vague, landward view from the rope-walk on Copperas Hill, on part of the modern Lime Street Station (Plate LXII). It is from a drawing by W. G. Herdman based on a contemporary sketch by John Foster. Though dated 1797 it cannot be later than 1795, for it shows in the background in the centre of the picture the old low dome of the Town Hall, which was burnt in that year and replaced by the loftier modern dome that forms so prominent a feature in later prospects of the town. Rope-walks, like that shown in the foreground of this picture, were a very common feature of the Liverpool of that date, in which rope-making was a thriving industry ; and there were many windmills also, like these, in the outskirts of the town. These are, in fact, some of the same mills which can be seen in a view of Lime Street of an earlier date, 1771 (Plate LXI), but in that picture the mills are seen from the other side, from just below the ancient well which stood in St. John's Gardens. The Copperas Hill view shows us the tower of St. Peter's Church on the left, and in the centre the tower of the latest of the Corporation churches, St. John's, which had been erected on the "Great Heath" below the modern St. George's Hall in 1775–83. To the right of St. John's is the

back of the old Royal Infirmary, erected in 1745, which occupied the site of the northern end of St. George's Hall.

Almost contemporaneous with the Copperas Hill view are two marine views by J. T. Serres, selected from a series of colour-prints of Liverpool designed by this artist (Plates xxi and xxii). It is scarcely surprising that Serres, who was marine-painter to George III, should have concentrated his attention mainly upon the river and its shipping, and treated the town rather as a background than as his principal subject. The pictures are indeed a little romantic in character, and have not much information to yield ; but they present a pleasant impression of the appearance of the river in a romantic period. With them may be bracketed the somewhat later view with its fine three-masted privateer in the forefront (Plate xxvi). Assuredly the river must have been full of charm when it was frequented by such beautiful craft. But slight and vague as is the idea of the town presented by these pictures, this much is at any rate clear, that it was a vastly larger, more bustling, more thriving place than the modest port shown in the views of seventy years before ; "this immense place, which stands like another Venice on the waters," as Erskine had described it a few years before these drawings were made : this "great community" "fit to be a proud capital of any empire in the world" which had "started up like an enchanted palace, even in the memory of living men."

It is worth while to consider a little more closely some of the main features of the remarkable growth which could inspire such a glowing panegyric ; and if we do not find much that is either enchanting or palatial upon a closer inspection, we shall at least find much that is extremely instructive.

To begin with, the directions in which the town's expansion has chiefly taken place deserve investigation ; they are at first sight not a little surprising. We noted that in the first half of the eighteenth century growth had been mainly towards the south ; and this feature continues in a very marked way. It is to be observed in the docks ; there was no dock further north than St. Nicholas' Church until after the end of this period, though long before its close the line of docks extended to the southern limit of the township. And the same feature marks the building on shore. The Town Hall is no longer in the centre of the town, but near its northern edge. There are scarcely any houses to the north of St. Paul's Church, which is just behind the modern cotton exchange ; and the bottom end of Dale Street, towards the old Haymarket, is on its northern side within a hundred and fifty yards of open country. In this region there has been little growth since 1680 ; only the spaces between the main streets have been filled with a compact mass of houses. All the land between the river and Scotland Road is laid out in tilled

fields, divided into long and narrow strips as they had been in the middle ages. What is to-day the densest slum area of Liverpool was almost untenanted at the opening of the nineteenth century. The only region towards the north of the town where there has been any great expansion is the angle between London Road and Byrom Street, with St. Anne Street, Christian Street and Richmond Row as its chief thoroughfares. This area, occupying the rising ground towards Everton, was indeed a thickly populated residential district, and beyond it Everton Hill itself was dotted with the mansions of merchant princes and well covered with trees, as may be seen in the two pleasant pictures of it shown in Plates LXII and LXIII. The merchant princes had chosen well; no part of Liverpool stands so high or commands so broad a prospect as Everton Hill, and it was not till the lower lands between it and the river, which were in 1796 occupied with pleasant cultivated fields, had begun to be crowded with mean streets that they deserted their mansions and began to flee to other regions.

But towards the south and south-east, beyond the line of the old Pool, expansion has been far more rapid, though there had been scarcely a house in this region a century earlier. Along Park Lane, and especially on the river side of the Lane, there is a continuous line of buildings extending as far as the boundary of the township, Parliament Street. Beyond Parliament Street began the old deer park of Toxteth, no part of which was included within the borough or Liverpool till 1835. Even here (though the map, confining itself to the strict limits of the borough, does not show this) streets were being rapidly developed; for Lord Sefton, ground landlord of Toxteth Park, had as early as 1775 planned the creation of a new town to be called Harrington, in the hope of making profit out of the growth of Liverpool. Further to the east, almost the whole length of Duke Street and Bold Street were well built up, save that a large field belonging to Mr. Colquitt occupied the area between the upper reaches of these streets. There were a good many houses in Leece Street, and a great part of Rodney Street was well built up, but that was the limit of the town in this direction. All the way up Mount Pleasant, as you climb from the town, there was a succession of houses in gardens, and at the top there was the workhouse on the one side, while on the other side the quaint quadrangle of almshouses, which was demolished only the other day, stood back a little from the road. But the left-hand side of Mount Pleasant was mostly open country, and fields stretched from here right across to London Road, and extended inwards towards the heart of the town as far as Lime Street. This curious gap in the development of the town is, indeed, the most surprising feature of the map. Few would imagine that Lime Street was the last of the important streets of Liverpool to be

developed ; yet Mr. Gladstone (born in 1809) remembered seeing hawthorn hedges in Lime Street in his boyhood.

If the curiously irregular growth of the town is the first thing that strikes the student, the second impression—an impression strengthened by everything that he learns about the town in this period—is the absence of any serious attempt at a systematic regulation or control over the town's development. We are not entitled to blame the ruling authorities for this ; they could not be expected to show greater enlightenment, enterprise or foresight than the governing authorities of other English towns in this period and for a long time to come. And it would be especially unreasonable to expect such action from a close corporation such as the Liverpool Town Council then was. Down to 1835 its members never had to submit to popular election, but held their seats for life, and filled up vacancies in their own number as they occurred ; and consequently they were apt to take a very narrow view of their functions. But if we cannot reasonably blame, we may at any rate regret, that in this period, when the character of the city was being almost irrevocably fixed, its common affairs were not under the direction of a body capable of taking broad views. The regret is all the more keen because the circumstances were singularly favourable for the development of a really handsome and well-planned town. As we have seen, the growth of the town during this period was mainly towards the south and east, beyond the line of the old Pool. But nearly all the land in this region (the ancient waste or common whereon the mediæval townsmen had pastured their beasts) had become corporate property by the quiet usurpation of the burghers of the fifteenth century. Much of it had, it is true, been alienated, in many cases to members of the Town Council itself ; but enough remained to leave Liverpool in possession of a larger corporate estate within its own limits than any other town in England could claim. Under these circumstances there would have been little difficulty in securing that this area, at any rate, should be developed in an intelligent way ; that the roads should be well planned and of good breadth, and that the amenities should be so far as possible preserved. But scarcely any attention was paid to such matters. The main roads simply followed old traditional tracks : one of them, Park Lane, was the old footpath to the wall of Toxteth Park ; another, Duke Street, followed the track from the old Pool to the quarry on the hillside out of which the older Liverpool was largely built, and which now contains St. James's Cemetery ; a third, Brownlow Hill, led directly to another quarry, on the site of which part of the University now stands. The minor roads seem to have been laid out merely at haphazard, according to the fancy of the builders. There was no such intelligent planning of new streets on spacious and dignified lines as was to be

seen in the development of the "new town" of Edinburgh in this same generation. What Edinburgh was doing Liverpool might easily have done; and no one who has admired the symmetry and dignity of the streets and squares on the north side of Prince's Street, Edinburgh, can fail to deplore the absence of a similar taste in the planning of the new Liverpool. Only two instances of intelligent street-planning can be recorded of Liverpool in this period. One of these can be seen in the plan; it is the useful north and south thoroughfare which runs from Upper Duke Street to Scotland Road, and which is known in various parts as Rodney Street, Clarence Street, and St. Anne Street. This road had been cut straight across the open fields between Mount Pleasant and London Road before 1796. The other example of intelligent planning was later than the date of the map, and belongs to the early years of the nineteenth century. It was the laying out of the Mosslake fields—the area between Hope Street and Grove Street, which had once been a stretch of marshy land where the townsmen cut peat. This area, being level and yet high, was excellently designed for a residential district. It was well laid out in a series of spacious streets and squares, which were soon filled with plain but not undignified houses. The result is that Canning Street and Huskisson Street, Bedford Street and Catherine Street, Abercromby and Falkner Squares, have retained their original character to this day, and form a solid Bloomsbury-like residential area such as can be found in few other English provincial towns. But the treatment of this region was quite exceptional.

One of the unhappy effects of the absence of guidance in the laying out of the town during this period is that Liverpool has sacrificed the great benefits she might have derived from the fact that she is built on the slopes of a long ridge running parallel with the river. Already at two points—St. James's quarry and the top of Mount Pleasant—the town had climbed almost to the top of this ridge, and it had nearly reached the summit also in the direction of Everton. It needs little reflection to realize that streets should have been cut from the summit of the ridge straight down to the water's edge, so as to converge on the heart of the town somewhere near the Town Hall. Those who have enjoyed the view of the older part of the city that can still be obtained as you come down Upper Duke Street, and have been exasperated by the way in which unnecessary curves or projecting buildings destroy the prospect, or those who have, in descending Brownlow Hill, caught a glimpse at sundown of the curve of Bidston Hill and its windmill over the top of Lewis's, can realize how the beauty of the city would have been increased if it had been possible to look down broad, straight roads upon the subjacent city, and the river with its shipping, and the fields of Wirral,

and the hills of Wales beyond. Of these pleasures we have been quite needlessly robbed. Three admirable opportunities for such thoroughfares start to view on the map. Dale Street and Water Street are almost, and might with a little thought have been quite, in a straight alignment from the river; and if Dale Street had been directly prolonged up the hill towards the east it would not only have yielded beauty but would have improved the convenience and value of the area through which it passed. Further south, Brownlow Hill can be seen aiming straight for the river from the top of the hill: if it were prolonged in a direct line it would emerge on the river-front at the bottom of James Street, just in front of the modern offices of the Dock Board. But nobody thought of bringing Ranelagh Street into line with Brownlow Hill, and this opportunity was lost. Finally, further south again, Duke Street runs almost straight from Hope Street and St. James's Cemetery to the top of the Old Dock, from which it might very usefully have been continued to the sea-front; but it is only *almost* straight; a slight exasperating curve ruins the vista. If these three streets had been intelligently made we should have had three good thoroughfares all starting from the centre of the river-front and diverging towards widely different parts of the ridge, one of them leading to the Cathedral, another to the University. That would have given the basis of an excellent fan-like city-plan; its execution would have cost no more than has been spent on piecemeal widenings of bits of these thoroughfares; and convenience and beauty would have been equally served.

Another marked deficiency of Liverpool in this period which might easily have been remedied by an intelligent use of the large area owned by the Corporation was the absence of verdure or open green spaces within the growing town. The only place of this kind open to the public was the small St. James's Garden on the mound overlooking the quarry. The need of such spaces was, perhaps, scarcely felt while the open country remained so close at hand, and the sandy North Shore with its bathing vans and refreshment houses (see Plate LXXX) was within five minutes' walk of the Town Hall, and just beyond the George's Dock. Yet what a boon would have been the creation of one or two modest gardens in the inner region of the town, like Lincoln's Inn Fields and many another green corner in the heart of London. They would have been cheaply provided; but the town was too practical for such luxuries, too completely engrossed in the fascination of its growing wealth.

It may, perhaps, be unreasonable to suggest that the men who were building up the prosperity of Liverpool should also have had thought for her beauty and dignity, but at least we may rationally deplore that so little regard was had to her health. Most of the streets were extraordinarily narrow, and the houses were crowded

together in a most unhealthy way. This scarcely comes out clearly enough in the drawings, where the artists generally allow themselves great latitude in enlarging their foreground so as to get a good effect. But some idea of the narrowness of the streets can be got from the two views of the Castle Ditch, looking east and looking west (Plates XLIII and XLIV). The Castle Ditch was a narrow alley on the site of the old fosse of the Castle, which ran across the top of Harrington Street, Lord Street and Cable Street, from Castle Street to Pool Lane (now South Castle Street). Between it and St. George's Church, where the Victoria Memorial now stands, there was a closely-packed line of houses which is shown in the westward view (Plate XLIV) with St. George's spire rising behind it. Those who know this space to-day will realize that the passage on either side of this block of houses cannot possibly have been as wide as it is made to appear in the two drawings. But the eastward view (Plate XLIII) shows the entrances of Harrington Street (on the left), Lord Street (in the centre), and Cable Street (on the right), and gives some means of judging the width of these streets. In fact, Lord Street was no wider than Cable Street is to-day; it scarcely allowed room for two carts to pass one another; and the impression of it given in Plates XLVI and XLVII, while accurate enough for the appearance of the buildings, is very misleading for the width of the street. The same may be said of the view of Chapel Street (Plate XXIII), a notoriously narrow street, and indeed this applies to nearly all the street views of this period, except, perhaps, that of Water Street (Plate XIX).

The narrowness of the streets in the older quarter of the town was perhaps inevitable, though many of them had been laid out since the beginning of the eighteenth century. It drove the Corporation into a very costly series of improvements and street widenings, the first of which was effected under a special Act in 1786, when the buildings which were huddled up against the Town Hall were removed, and Castle Street and the upper end of Dale Street were widened. But this was only the first of a series of such operations, which were naturally of a costly character, and before long Castle Street had to be widened again. Yet even these experiences did not teach the Corporation the necessity of constructing the streets, especially those which were laid out on corporate land, on an adequate scale from the first. Half the main streets in the centre of the town have had to be widened again and again, and money wasted in this way might have beautified the whole city. Such is the penalty of lack of foresight. Through lack of supervision Liverpool became a town cramped and crowded to a degree disastrous to the health and morals of its inhabitants; it enjoyed, until late in the nineteenth century, the unenviable reputation of being more densely peopled than any other English town.

Equally serious was the absence of any responsible control over the erection of new buildings, or any requirements as to the sanitary conditions of houses destined for human habitation. No English town yet possessed powers of this kind, but Liverpool needed them more than others, because of the nature of the population that poured into her during this period, looking for support from the intermittent and uncertain occupations of a seaport town. The courts and alleys, the cellar dwellings, the back-to-back houses, with which the more enlightened governing bodies of the nineteenth century have been waging an unceasing war ever since 1842, were largely or mainly created during this period. In 1795 it was estimated that one-ninth of the population were living in cellars, and it was inevitable that such a population should be unclean, unhealthy, turbulent and degraded. A too exclusive concentration on practical matters and on the concerns of trade was thus not only robbing the city of beauty, but was dowering her with a heritage of misery. At the opening of the twentieth century the wisest men are perplexed to know how to deal with the third generation bred in the courts and alleys of the late eighteenth century. How is a healthy civic body to be created out of a population which has for a century been habituated to the moral and physical defects of these conditions? That is probably the greatest of social problems. It has been nowhere more acute than in Liverpool; nowhere in England has it been more courageously attacked during the last generation. But the vast expenditure of money and thought which these admirable ameliorative schemes have involved was rendered necessary by the absence of forethought and of regulation in the period when the lively little seaport of the early eighteenth century was being suddenly transformed into the huge ugly city of the early nineteenth. Whatever excuses may be made, it remains true that the ultimate explanation of these unhappy conditions is that given in a sentence from Horace placed on his title-page by the anonymous author of the "Descriptive Account" of 1795: *quaerenda pecunia primum est: virtus post nummos*—the quest of money came first, and manhood ranked after coin.

It is simply another aspect of the same false sense of proportion regarding the true elements of greatness in a community that is seen in the surprisingly small number of views in this large collection which show institutions for the encouragement of the intellectual interests or the community. Apart from the charity school of the Blue-coat Hospital, there is no school or place of learning in this big town of sufficient architectural pretensions to be deserving of record, no gallery of the fine arts, no hall of music, no civic library; the Theatre Royal in Williamson Square (Plate LVIII) is the only place of public resort where any appeal is made to the imagination, the intellect, the

æsthetic sense of the citizen. Liverpool is as yet a town of barbarians. But at the end of the period things were beginning to mend. Under the leadership of William Roscoe a modest renascence was beginning in the dirty, crowded, and turbulent town. In 1799 the Athenæum (Plate L) was opened as a sedate library and club for lettered citizens of means. The Lyceum (Plate LI) was opened in 1803 as a home for the private subscription library which a number of citizens had kept alive for many years. In 1817 the Royal Institution (Plate LII) began its career, with the design of becoming a sort of popular university and centre of letters and the arts. Also there had been founded a Liverpool Academy of the Arts, which never became strong enough to have a home of its own, but which did at least hold displays of pictures and sculpture. These were promising beginnings. But they were all private organizations, conceived on a modest scale; their growth and influence were never at all proportionate to the growth of the town's wealth and population, and they never really modified the character of the town. Roscoe's dream that Liverpool might become another Florence, where wealth and trade should not be the supreme objects in themselves, but should become the means and ministers of a rich, varied and intelligent civic life, was not to be realized for a long time to come, if ever.

VII

It is worth while to attempt some survey of the aspect and condition of the town as it was a hundred years ago, towards the end of the Great War, and at the close of its first great stage of rapid and confused transformation.

The river is always beautiful. It is beautiful now, with its unbroken fringe of bricks and mortar, its huge pall of smoke-cloud, and its unceasing restless motion of smoky tugs. It was tenfold more beautiful a hundred years ago, when only a comparatively short reach of one of its banks was covered with houses, and the rest was clean and verdurous, and when the smoking steamer was as yet unknown, and the river was crowded with beautiful sailing-craft of every type. The whole line of the Cheshire shore from Wallasey to Eastham was still green and rural; tilled fields fringed with trees and backed by low wooded hills, Bidston, Tranmere and Storeton. Almost the only signs of habitation were ferry-houses here and there along the shore, and a few fishermen's cottages, and the venerable ruins of the Birkenhead Priory. Two things perhaps would especially catch the eye on the Cheshire shore; the enticing entrance of that long natural inlet, the Great Float, curving round the low rocky hill of Wallasey; and the lighthouse and signal masts on Bidston Hill, rising above the trees. Equally attractive was the Lancashire shore;

a long line of sandy beach, backed by sandhills, extended from the mouth of the river to within a mile of St. Nicholas' Church. Here also were few signs of habitation : the rural villages of Bootle and Kirkdale, which were places or resort for bathing in the summer, were hidden by the sandhills, but you might catch sight of the Bootle Mill, or of Bank Hall, the ancient Kirkdale mansion of the Moores. Nearer the town cottages and refreshment houses and bathing vans began to appear ; and the scene was not made less picturesque by the windmills which stood behind the beach on the outskirts of the town (see Plates LXXIX and LXXX). But the real beginning of the town was marked by the rounded Fort which jutted out into the river for a distance of 200 yards ; it was soon to be demolished to make room for the Prince's Dock, the northern part of which covers its site. This Fort had been the centre of the defensive system of Liverpool during the war, and included several batteries and a standing garrison of artillerymen. The terrace of the Fort was open to the public, and formed a pleasant promenade. This, indeed, was perhaps its main function, for no shot was ever fired from it in anger. If any considerable force had ever entered the river, the Fort would have proved a very inadequate protection. But the real protection of Liverpool was to be found in the difficult and shifting channels at the mouth of the river, only to be traversed under the guidance of skilled pilots. A short distance to the south of the Fort, opposite St. Nicholas' Church, the line of docks began, with the jutting wall of the dry basin by which entrance was had to the George's Dock : ships lying in the basin came right up under the wall of St. Nicholas' Churchyard. From this point the dock-wall extended due southwards for nearly a mile and a half, as far as the line of Parliament Street, which formed the southern boundary of the borough until 1835. Beyond, for a short distance, were to be seen the clustered houses of Harrington, the independent townlet which had risen at the northern end of Toxteth Park ; but then began again fields and trees and little dingles through which clear streamlets found their way to the estuary. Most of Toxteth Park was still park-like, and it was perhaps not yet impossible that an otter might be found in Otters-pool. In all this region the estuary must have seemed like a huge quiet lake, set against the background of the Halton hills and the woods of Eastham. But in the far recess of this lake the pretty little villages of Runcorn and Widnes (to which you might go by a packet that started from the parade near the fort) were already beginning to be wakened up by the traffic of the Duke of Bridgewater's canal, though they were still much frequented for sea-bathing in the summer by the good people of Manchester.

Out in the river the scene was equally picturesque. A guardship lay off the George's Dock, a permanent rendezvous for pressed men and

volunteers for the Navy. Often a warship on active service would enter the river: its advent was seldom welcomed by the seafaring population, for its object was usually to fill up its depleted crew by the forcible seizure of suitable men, and many lively and violent scenes took place when the press-gang was at work—in the river itself, where merchant craft, trying to escape with their crews, were sometimes stopped by cannon fire, or in the sailors' taverns in Pool Lane, whose proprietors often sold their guests to the press-gang when they had exhausted their money. There were private warships also—privateers like that shown in Plate XXVI, licensed by letters of marque (Plate XXVII) to prey upon the commerce of the enemy. Liverpool had always played a very active part in privateering, and its records during the previous half-century were full of thrilling stories of fights which often brought great profit; though no single capture was ever so valuable as that of the *Carnatic* (Plate XXVIII), a French East-Indiaman captured in 1778, whose cargo was valued at £135,000. But privateering had greatly declined in the later years of the war, because the mercantile marine of the enemy had been almost driven from the sea; and by 1815 the privateer was no longer so prominent a feature of the river as it had once been. Another type of craft, which had been eminently characteristic of Liverpool during the previous half-century, and had brought in huge profits, had now altogether disappeared, or been transformed to other purposes. This was the slaver, with its rakish build designed for swift sailing so as to minimize the loss by death among the human cargo during the horrors of the middle passage from West Africa to the West Indies, and with its low 'tween-decks fitted with close-set benches and chains, and its loose chain across the deck, under which the ankle-chains of the slaves were passed when they were brought up for exercise to the music of the whistling lash. The slavers had vanished for ever since the legal prohibition of the slave-trade in 1807; and the dire prognostications of ruin to Liverpool which were made at that time had already come to nothing. Ruin, indeed, was much more likely to come through the moral effects of the slave-trade than through the merely pecuniary loss caused by its abolition. That loss was already being made up by the opening of other routes of trade. The trade to India had been thrown open in 1813, and in 1814 the first Liverpool East-Indiaman, the *Kingsmill*, belonging to Mr. John Gladstone, had set sail. These great vessels, with their mountains of sail, and the romantic associations of their long voyage round the Cape and their costly cargoes, were already beginning to be the aristocrats of the river. And there was also a rapidly increasing number of craft trading to South America, whose ports had been thrown open by the revolt of the Spanish colonies from the puppet-king imposed on Spain by Napoleon. There were

ships, too, from the West Indies, which had been for a century the main centre of Liverpool trade, and whale-boats from Greenland, and timber-ships from the Baltic, and packet-boats and coasting-vessels of every type. Only with the United States trade was for the moment interrupted owing to the outbreak of the foolish war of 1812. A daring American privateer, the *True-blooded Yankee*, had recently been haunting the Irish Sea, and the fear of it kept many craft locked into the river. But these troubles were soon to come to an end, and once more American ships were to throng the river.

Seen from the river (see James' view, Plate xxx) Liverpool now appeared a big and spreading town. Behind the long wall of the docks with their forest of masts could be seen a compact mass of undistinguished buildings, among which, in the foreground, the old Goree warehouses and St. Nicholas' Church (Plate xxv) alone stood out boldly. Behind, the skyline was diversified by a couple of domes, those of the Town Hall and St. Paul's Church, by a number of church towers and spires, among which St. George's and St. Thomas's showed some grace, and by a large number of windmills. In the background the rising ground stood forth, still largely green : on the north Everton with its trees, among which peeped out the mansions of merchant-princes and the tower of St. George's Church (opened 1814) ; on the south the high ground about St. James's Mount, beyond which houses were just beginning to appear in the region of Abercromby Square.

Within the city the visitor found only one small region where anything like dignity had been achieved, or even aimed at. This was the small area in the immediate neighbourhood of the Town Hall. The Town Hall itself, always a handsome building, had been improved by the new dome which was added after the fire of 1795 (Plate viii). Behind it, on the ground formerly occupied by the rather mean and huddled houses of High Street (see Plate xvi), there had recently been erected the first Exchange quadrangle (see Plate xxxiv), after a simple and dignified design which harmonized better with the Town Hall, and was in itself more attractive, than the more pretentious buildings of to-day, by which it was replaced fifty years later. The Exchange quadrangle was almost the sole architectural beauty of Liverpool ; the only feature of the town, apart from the view from the river-wall, upon which the writer of the *Stranger in Liverpool*, loyal as he was to the town, could really become enthusiastic. But he sadly notes that it is hidden away, and is only visible from within its own area. In the centre of the quadrangle there had already been erected the fine Nelson monument, raised in the outburst of enthusiasm which followed the Battle of Trafalgar. It was the only piece of public statuary in the town. In the immediate neighbourhood of the Town Hall, on the other side also, a certain degree of dignity had been achieved. Castle Street had

been widened on the west side in 1786, and when it was rebuilt the Corporation imposed a uniform elevation on the whole frontage, in a style in harmony with the Town Hall and the Exchange (Plate XII). But this excellent beginning was not carried far: except Lord Street, no other streets were built to a design, and in a very few years Castle Street had to be widened again, and the uniform design was swept away. Still Liverpool could boast that she had one handsome street, to which the Town Hall at one end and St. George's Church at the other gave a real dignity ; and Castle Street was naturally the main centre of the town's life. Here were the chief newspaper offices and banks and jewellers' shops, and the principal hotel, the "Liverpool Arms," which had a handsome ball-room where regular subscription balls were held. The dignity of Castle Street was in some degree shared by the upper end of Dale Street, which had also been widened as far as Moorfields (Plate XVII). This end of Dale Street contained some of the chief coaching inns, the "Golden Lion" and the "Angel" on the south side, the "George" in the new buildings on the north side. It was a very busy thoroughfare, for it formed the main road out of Liverpool to all parts of the country, and most of the coaches (Plate XVIII) which plied to London, Manchester, Birmingham and elsewhere—some seventy or eighty a day at this period—either started from the Dale Street inns, or passed down Dale Street on their way from Water Street or Castle Street. Their route lay up London Road, past the old "Gallows Mill and Inn," on the spot where Jacobite prisoners had been hanged a hundred years before (Plate LXX). Yet despite this constant and noisy traffic, Dale Street below Moorfields remained a narrow, and in parts rather dilapidated, thoroughfare ; even to-day its lower end is not worthy of its dignity and of its long history.

All the other streets in the central part of the town were incredibly narrow, the best of them being about six yards wide, and of a jumbled variety of architecture, sometimes pleasing from its quaintness, but seldom worthy of the second English port. Chapel Street, though it led directly to the principal church and to the chief dock and the fort, was still very narrow ; and on the southern side there was a strange labyrinth of tortuous courts and alleys. It included one or two big residential houses, but it was also the site of the pig-market ; and though it had been improved somewhat by the removal in 1775 of some of the houses built up against St. Nicholas', and by the clearance of some of the ground at its eastern end to make room for the Exchange in 1803, its character was entirely out of keeping with its position (Plate XXIII). This was the case also with Water Street (Plate XIX) in spite of its proximity to the Town Hall. It had been the residence of many of the leading Liverpool families during the eighteenth century, but their big houses were now being rapidly turned

to business purposes. At the bottom still stood the grim old Tower where, a few years earlier, imprisoned debtors might have been seen holding out bags through the bars of the windows for the alms of the charitable. But in 1815 the Tower lay empty, waiting for the demolition which was to come in 1819, in preparation for the widening of Water Street. Thus passed the last relic of mediæval Liverpool. Lord Street also, though now a busy street with shops, banks and inns, was extremely narrow and ill-kept; while Pool Lane (later South Castle Street) which led direct to the crowded shipping of the Old Dock, was a rather unsavoury and dilapidated, but a romantic street, with a tarry, nautical smell about it, full of slop-shops and ships' chandlers', and sailors' taverns with sanded floors. Near the top of Pool Lane, close to the centre of the town, and in the open street, were the butchers' shambles (Plate LXXXIII). These were the main streets of the central area, and may be regarded as typical of the rest. There were "quaint bits" in them, such as we might admire in a little, old, dirty, sleepy port: but, taken as a whole, apart from Castle Street the aspect of the town was quite unworthy of its rank and wealth. It still deserved in 1815 the contemptuous description of an American visitor in 1780, with its "narrow, crooked and dirty streets"—"so infinitely below all our expectations that naught but the thoughts of the few hours we had to pass here rendered it tolerable." And the streets were as ill-kept as they were undignified. The paving was extremely rough, and it was nobody's business to clean them. As a contemporary local versifier wrote of Lord Street:

Here slumbering mud-beds lend their sullen dye,
So if you wish to cross, take a good stride, or
Perhaps your feet by some cursed chance may dart in
And soil th' unrivalled jet of Day and Martin.

Further out, things were a little better. Church Street (Plates XLVIII and XLIX) with St. Peter's Church, the Dispensary, and the newly erected Athenæum, had a certain quiet decency of aspect. The quiet little Clayton Square, a residential backwater which had as yet no outlet to Lime Street, had an air of unpretending prosperity. Bold Street was (after Castle Street) the only thoroughfare which the loyal author of *The Stranger in Liverpool* could find it in his heart to praise; and the handsome St. Luke's Church (Plate LIII), which dominates the vista up the street, had been begun, though it was not finished until 1831. Duke Street contained a succession of handsome residences. Rodney Street was well built up, and already possessed its characteristic air of solid respectability. Mount Pleasant almost deserved its name, with its succession of houses in gardens; and from the little

"Bowling-green Tavern" at the top, the birth-place of Roscoe (Plate LIV), a pleasant view of the town and its shipping could be had. But there was nothing distinguished about the aspect of any part of the town; no evidence anywhere, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the Town Hall, of a civic pride, or an ambition that the town should be noteworthy for anything higher than its wealth.

And if we pursue investigation into the poorer quarters of the town, we find still worse things. In all but the main streets, cellar-dwellings housing whole families were to be found. Packed away into the recesses between the principal thoroughfares were labyrinths of alleys and courts, vile-smelling, undrained, swarming with a wretched human, and a thriving insect, population. Towards the north of the town, in the area behind Dale Street, whole streets of ill-built property were arising, crowded together as closely as possible, without air or light or sanitation, unspeakably ugly and mean and vile, but doubtless very profitable. Already this was becoming *par excellence* the slum area of the swarming, dirty town, the human refuse heap of this great wealth factory. In this northward region, not yet very extensive, were no good shops, no inns, no decencies of any kind: not even fresh water could be easily got here. The miasmatic influence of this region was spreading down riverwards. The region to the north of St. Nicholas' Church, along the shore, had been a pleasant one, with some good houses near by, and a Ladies' Walk, and a green Love Lane. But these modest amenities had vanished; driven out partly by the wharves and coalyards of the Leeds and Liverpool Canal, partly by the noisome neighbourhood of the pullulating slums.

It was largely the very hideousness of this development which was already bringing about a process that has been completed during the nineteenth century—the segregation of rich and poor. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the prosperous merchant and his clerks and his labourers lived close together in the heart of the town: they were in a full sense members of the same community, knowing and understanding one another in some measure. Even in 1815 a certain number of the well-to-do lived in their old houses in the central streets, but these were the old fashioned. The majority of those who remained in the town had begun to confine themselves to distinctive streets; the sedate seclusion of Clayton Square, turning its back upon the rope-works of Lime Street and the crowded cellars of Whitechapel; the prim dignity of Duke Street having nothing to do with the rowdy purlieus of Park Lane; the spacious gardens of Everton Hill looking down contemptuously upon the sordid quarter that was beginning to spread over the green fields, not without indignation at the prospect that

these creatures, if they continued spreading, would spoil the neighbourhood. It was a regrettable, but an inevitable development; inevitable because the only way to avoid it would have been that the rulers of this growing hive of wealth-producers should have resolved that from the first, and as it grew, every part of the town should be clean, spacious and beautiful. And that was impossible; firstly because at that date such a notion could not have entered anybody's mind, secondly because, as things were, there was no effective controlling or governing body in the town, and thirdly because, even if these defects had not existed, parliament would not have given the powers necessary, and there would have been no means of raising the necessary funds.

To complete our survey of the Liverpool of 1815, a few words should be said about the industries of the place. Not much needs to be said here, because it is one of the most curious features of the development of Liverpool at this period that concurrently with the growth of her importance as a distributing centre the productive industries which had shown a promising development in the eighteenth century were rapidly dying out. It might almost appear that fine craftsmanship was inconsistent with the conditions under which the main occupations of Liverpool were carried on, that a population bred in cellars and sunless courts could not maintain the deftness and taste necessary for such occupations as watch-making or fine pottery or statuary work. The bulk of the population of Liverpool consisted of the families of sailors, who were often brutally used in that age of the press-gang and the lash, and of the men engaged in the heavy drudgery of loading and unloading at the docks, or in the mechanical occupation of clerking. The directing power came from those who could find better conditions of life for themselves and their children, and who were more and more fleeing the ugly purlieus of the town.

The industry whose sudden decay was most to be lamented was the pottery industry, of one branch of which Liverpool had been the main centre during the eighteenth century. The original inventor of the process of printing from engraved plates on pottery, John Sadler, had set up his pot-works in Harrington Street. But the great centre of the industry was Shaw's Brow (now William Brown Street, Plates LXV and LXVI), which took its name from Samuel Shaw, a great master of the art in the first half of the eighteenth century. Here almost the whole population was engaged in this artistic craft down to the end of the century, and there was a nest of potters' ovens here. In the middle of the century there were fourteen firms in the city engaged in this craft, six of them in Shaw's Brow; and some of them produced work of high merit, specimens of which are shown in Plates LXVIII and LXIX. But the Liverpool pottery industry was killed by that of Staffordshire, though there was

no real reason why it should not have survived and thriven. Liverpool could get Cornish clay as cheaply as Staffordshire ; she had far superior marketing and export facilities ; and when the use of coal for pot-works was developed the ease with which supplies could be brought by canal from Wigan should have enabled Liverpool to maintain her own. But the industry died out completely ; and the only explanation that can be given is that the conditions existing in Liverpool were increasingly hostile to the maintenance of a fine craft. In 1815 all the original potteries had died out. The industry was now carried on only in the Herculaneum Potteries in Toxteth Park (Plate LXVII), where a curious little colony of Staffordshire workpeople had been planted in 1796, after the original works had nearly all been closed. The Herculaneum Pottery produced some fine work, but it was unsuccessful from the first, and only struggled on with difficulty till 1833.

In the same way, and probably for the same reasons, Liverpool lost the supremacy in the watch-making industry which she had once possessed. Perhaps the greatest of Liverpool watch-makers was John Wyke, who carried on his craft in Dale Street in the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1800 2000 hands are said to have been employed in watch-making, and Liverpool watches were highly esteemed all over the world : the writer has seen a beautiful gold watch, made in Liverpool, which was presented to a ship's doctor by a native princess of Hawaii more than a hundred years ago, and is still in daily use. The industry was still alive in 1815, but it was dying out. Even shipbuilding was decaying. There were a number of slips to the south of the town, but Liverpool never again enjoyed the supremacy in this craft which she had boasted in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The oil-refineries were gone too ; only one of a group of iron-foundries survived. And the only industry for which the author of the *Stranger in Liverpool* demands the admiration of the visitor is the new mechanical ropery in Vauxhall, which was beginning to steal trade from the old primitive roperies near Lime Street and elsewhere.

Thus the survey of Liverpool in 1815 is in many ways disappointing. It is growing rapidly, it is winning great wealth, its ships are penetrating to all the seas of the world. But it is as yet a mean and ugly place, becoming yearly meaner and uglier. It has sacrificed an unequalled opportunity of achieving beauty of aspect and dignity of plan. It is sentencing the majority of its citizens to conditions of life which are inevitably stunting and depraving in their influence, and is laying up for itself a complex of difficulties for the future. It has lost and is losing several valuable creative industries, largely because of the conditions of life imposed upon those who practise them. It cannot even build its own ships. It is

becoming a mere carrier town, the transporter of other people's work, for other people's use. And with all this it is contented, glowing with pride in its own greatness: a strange spectacle, explicable only by the theory that in the eyes of its citizens *pecunia primum est, virtus post nummos*—manhood comes after coin.

VIII

The period which we have just discussed had brought about a remarkable transformation in the character and aspect of Liverpool. 1760 had found it a busy little port of some 25,000 inhabitants, which had just shed its mediæval skin, and was setting out eagerly to claim a real share in the trans-oceanic trade. 1815 left it a big and crowded town of 100,000 inhabitants, the second among English ports and the principal port and market of the new industrial England, but ugly, ill-built, ill-governed and filled with a wretched population dwelling in the most sordid and hopeless conditions. The next period, 1815–1875 (which is the last illustrated by the pictures in this book), saw an even more rapid growth. During these years the population of the borough multiplied nearly five-fold, reaching 493,000 at the census of 1871; and this does not represent the full extent of the increase, for at the same time Birkenhead had grown up out of nothing into a populous town, and Bootle, a little rural village in 1815, had become an incorporate borough (1869): the real population dependent upon the activities of the port must have increased at least six-fold during these years. This increase was, of course, the result of an unparalleled expansion of trade. New markets were being developed in every part of the world; the industries of Lancashire and the Midlands, which had grown so amazingly even during the age of war, throve still more luxuriantly during the long peace which followed, and as Europe was in these years distracted by wars and intestine tumults, England enjoyed a supremacy in these new developments almost amounting to monopoly, and Liverpool, the great port of industrial England, throve accordingly. In the last period, as we observed, Liverpool had allowed almost all her productive industries to be destroyed, and, putting all her eggs into one basket, had devoted herself exclusively to carrying and distributive work. The population which drifted into the town in such vast numbers was necessarily the kind of population attracted by the rude and unorganized labour of docks and warehouses; not craftsmen, but men with nothing to offer but their strength, and often men impoverished to the last degree. Swarms of Irish labourers, driven from their own country by famine, had already begun to appear in Liverpool before the end of the eighteenth century, but it was in the first half of the nineteenth that they

poured in in the largest numbers and began to people whole quarters of the town. The indrift from the English countryside and from Wales was in a large degree of not much better quality, and with these were blent a drift of seafaring folk and adventurers from every country with which Liverpool ships trafficked, that is, from every country in the world. During these years Liverpool became a cosmopolitan town and a town depending for its very existence upon a constantly shifting population of sailors and labourers, always existing on the very margin of subsistence. It must therefore have been in any case an extremely difficult town to govern well, a town to which it was hard to give dignity and decency. And when it is remembered how ugly, how dirty, how unhealthy the town had been permitted to become owing to the lack of governance of the preceding period, it would not be surprising if all the forces making for order and decency had been swamped by the inrush of this seething and shifting populace. It is no matter for wonder that Liverpool should have earned, by the middle of the century, the nickname of "the black spot on the Mersey," and in the eyes of contemporaries of that period it seemed the ugliest, the most hopeless and the worst governed town in England. Nevertheless, the main feature of the development of Liverpool during this period is not that the terrible conditions of the previous period grew worse, but that the forces of order began seriously and honestly to struggle against them. When we review the town of 1875 and compare it with the town of 1815, the first impression is that there has simply been a vast expansion of the area of meanness, dirt, and ugliness. That impression does not survive a more careful analysis ; and although Liverpool in 1875 was still an ugly town, full of misery, it was struggling manfully against its own ugliness, and striving to relieve its own misery ; the more daring constructive labours of the next period were already foreshadowed, and there had already begun to dawn the vision of the possibility of creating, out of the mean and smoky streets, a city that should be in some measure clean and healthy, not wholly lacking in beauty and dignity, capable of offering to its inhabitants a life that could be called civilized.

It is the story of this struggle for decency, and the slow expression or it in the external aspect of the city, which forms the main interest of Liverpool's history in the nineteenth century. But there are certain other features of the period which can, perhaps, most profitably be dealt with first, because they have an intimate bearing upon the other and main problem.

To the great carrier-town, depending for its very livelihood upon swift and cheap transport by sea and land, the coming of the steamship and of the railway was the dominating fact of the nineteenth century ; and they contributed in no small measure to transform the

aspect both of the river and the town. It was on sea that the new giant, steam, first made himself felt ; and, as if to mark the beginning of a new era, the first steamboat appeared in the Mersey in the year 1815, which we have taken as beginning our new period. But although an American ship using steam crossed the Atlantic to Liverpool as early as 1819, the new power did not at first materially affect the ocean-going traffic of the port. During the first twenty years steamboats were used mainly as tugs, or for river-traffic. Even as late as 1850 there were 1750 sailing-vessels registered in the port of Liverpool against 93 steamboats ; and it was actually not until 1900 that the number of steamboats registered in the port surpassed the number of sailing-vessels. Steam-power was not regularly employed for oceanic, or even for coasting traffic until the 'thirties. But long before that date the puffing tug-boat had come to the aid of the queenly sailing ships by making it possible for them to get out of the river against adverse winds ; and tug-boat and ferry-boat, with their absurdly tall and slender funnels had begun to transform the aspect of the river, as may be seen in Tytler's view of 1825 (Plates LXXVI and LXXVII). Tytler, excited by the new type of vessel, probably exaggerated its relative prominence ; for the steamboat does not appear at all in the interesting view of 1825 (Plate LV) ; even in Walters' view of 1836 there is only one small tug- or ferry-boat in the background, and big sailing-vessels of the old types still dominate the scene (Plate LXXXV). The development of the early types of seagoing steamboats may be studied in an interesting series of pictures included in the present volume (Plates XXXVI–XLII). It is worth noting that none of these vessels yet depends on steam alone. They are shown either with a full spread of canvas, or with rigging ready for it when the wind becomes favourable. The steamboat was to exercise a profound effect upon the character of the population of the port, as well as upon the dock-system and the aspect of the river. On the one hand it was to introduce, in the ship's engineers and their colleagues ashore, a substantial element whose profession made demands of a scientific order, and who were therefore a real enrichment of the community. On the other hand it was to degrade the qualities demanded from the mass of seafaring men, and to add to the strain and rush of the business of loading and unloading at the docks. But these effects were only beginning to display themselves towards the end of the period.

Not less important than the appearance of the steamboat was the appearance of the railway. It came none too soon, for it is difficult to imagine how the yearly increasing volume of goods from all parts of the world which were landed upon the wharves of Liverpool could have been handled at all if this relief had not come when it did. Its coming increased and strengthened the control of Liverpool over

the trade of the vast industrial area for which it is the principal outlet. It was in accord with the fitness of things that the first fully-equipped railway was that between Liverpool and Manchester, and the record of the growth of the town would have been incomplete without the pictures of the first railway station and the first primitive types of railway trains shown in Plates LXXXVII and LXXXVIII. In many ways the coming of the railway affected, for good or for ill, both the social conditions and the external aspect of the town. It was the beginning of that development of mechanical traction which was in the long run to make possible the distribution of the population over a much wider area; but for a long time this affected chiefly the wealthy, and in their case it tended to accelerate and emphasize that process of segregation which we have seen taking place on a smaller scale. Some of the richer citizens began to make their homes, for the whole or part of the year, at a distance from the noisy and ugly town; and in proportion as they did so their sense of membership in and responsibility for the urban community tended to weaken. It would, of course, be easy to exaggerate this tendency; but it existed, and has increased with every development of mechanical traction. In regard to the external aspect of the town the influence of the railway was less obvious than in some other big towns. Owing to the long ridge of hill on which Liverpool is built, two of the three main lines which enter the city have had to be brought through tunnels; consequently the central streets of the city are not disfigured by overhead bridges, nor are clanking and whistling trains seen in any of the main streets as they are, for example, in some parts of Manchester. Nevertheless the railway introduced a new element of ugliness, and it is difficult to imagine how such an area as that which is scored by the sidings of Edge Hill can ever be given any decency of aspect. The necessity of constructing terminals in the heart of the town also introduced problems of architecture and of town-planning which cannot be said to have been very satisfactorily solved. The railway stations of Liverpool are not very happily placed either in relation to one another, in relation to the main business arteries of the town, or (what is most important) in relation to the vast movement of passenger traffic on the river. Nor can it be pretended that any of them add much of dignity to the city, though the first form of Lime Street Station did present a certain dignity (Plate LXIII). The railway stations of this city of transport cannot be compared with those of New York or Philadelphia, or of many Continental towns. Perhaps the day will come when the great opportunity presented by the landward terminal of a great seaport will appeal to some architect of genius, and there will arise, down by the river-side, a vast central station, a huge palace, worthy to be the gateway to all the iron roads of England from the landing-place of the great ships that go to and fro along all the

routes of the ocean. To the nineteenth century any such grandiose project seemed merely idle and visionary. To twentieth-century England, though no longer to twentieth-century America, it still seems foolish and unpractical to plan on such a scale.

If there is something a little mean and unimaginative in the way in which the railway was handled in the city of its origin, there is nothing mean about the way in which the problem of harbourage for the yearly increasing fleet of ships was handled in the same period. It may almost be said that the superb dock-system of the Mersey, that work of Titans, was the product of the nineteenth century. The preceding age had been justly proud of its work in the creation of floating docks ; but all that had gone before was dwarfed to nothingness by the colossal work of the period under review. In 1815 there were only five docks in existence. One of these (the original Old Dock) had been already condemned in 1811, and was closed and filled up in 1826, while all the others have been since completely reconstructed and immensely enlarged. Between 1815 and 1825 one new dock was created—the Prince's Dock, the largest yet opened. In 1825 the control of the Dock Estate, hitherto exercised by the old close corporation, was placed under a statutory committee consisting partly of members of the Town Council, partly of representatives of the interests which used the docks. At once there began an immense and even feverish activity. Between 1825 and 1857 (when the Dock Committee was replaced by the modern Dock Board, having no connection with the corporation) no less than twenty-one new docks were constructed ; between 1857 and 1875 the Dock Board added three new docks, larger than any of their predecessors. The result of this extraordinary activity was to multiply the water area about six-fold, and the length of quayage about eleven-fold. In 1815 the dock-wall extended for only about a mile and a half. In 1875 it was more than five miles long, and the whole dock-system of Birkenhead had been added besides. No man can think meanly of Liverpool who knows anything of this superb achievement ; nor are there many spectacles in the world more impressive than the massive strength of this great granite water-city, the romance of its innumerable ships and of the lavish variety of the goods which load its wharves, the strange beauty of many of its corners, the grim bareness of its vast adjacent warehouses, towering sheer, like the walls of enormous cañons, above the unending stream of heavy traffic that passes along its intersecting streets. Here, at least, nineteenth-century Liverpool has made something wonderful and beautiful.

If the town had continued to develop in the same way as in the previous period, it would have been shamed by the neighbourhood of these heroic structures, to which it would have appeared to be merely a mean and featureless background. But in the same age, as we have

already indicated, the town also began to take a more worthy view of itself and its obligations.

During the first part of the period, from 1815 to 1835, the governing authority was still the old close corporation. From this body it was impossible to expect any large or generous conception of the necessity for regulating and controlling the growth of the town as a whole so as to make it a worthy breeding-place for citizens of an imperial race. But in its last years the old corporation did at least effectively awaken to the need of improving the central area of the town, of sweeping away its dingy rookeries, widening its tortuous streets, and giving to the place an aspect not wholly unworthy of its rank in the world. In 1820 we find them at work widening Water Street, Chapel Street, and part of Dale Street. This scheme involved the demolition of the Tower, the last surviving relic of mediæval Liverpool. If we cannot but regret this as a needless sacrifice, it was at least a sacrifice for a worthy end. In 1826 they entered upon a vast scheme of public improvement, beyond comparison the most sweeping ever undertaken in Liverpool. Part of this scheme consisted in the closing of the Old Dock, and the use of its site for the erection of a stately new Custom House. But alongside of this went a large scheme of street-widening, for which powers were obtained by a private Act of Parliament of the same year. This scheme covered no less than fourteen streets in the central part of the town, including the lower part of Dale Street, Tithebarn Street, James Street, Lord Street, John Street, Pool Lane (henceforward known as South Castle Street), and part of Bold Street. The general result of this extensive series of works was to change the whole aspect of the central part of the town, and almost to create the modern Liverpool that we know.

Honour to whom honour is due. There is little doubt that the real inspirer and director of this ambitious scheme of improvements was John Foster, the architect and surveyor to the corporation. Foster was the son of a town councillor who himself took a deep interest in public improvements, and two of his brothers held lucrative municipal offices. For a time, indeed, the Foster family almost ran the town, and they may be said to provide the best example which Liverpool affords of the filling of public offices by family influence. But they were all able men. As was often the case under the old corrupt system of nomination, they did their work with quite as much energy and spirit as if they had been appointed after advertisement on the most unimpeachable testimonials, or even upon a competitive examination in Greek composition and organic chemistry. Perhaps they felt more confidence in undertaking bold schemes from the knowledge that they had influence behind them. John Foster was an architect of real ability. He was deeply influenced by the classical revival, then in full vigour, and is said to have visited Italy and Greece in order to

study the surviving memorials of antiquity. It was no doubt family influence which obtained for him the commission for the erection of the new Custom House ; but he rose to the opportunity, and produced a building which, if rather gloomy, has real merit and monumental quality (Plate LXXXIX). It is strictly classical in style, like others of Foster's buildings, such as the charming little chapel of St. James' Cemetery ; and we may probably safely attribute to Foster's precedents and to his influence, the traditional preference which Liverpool has always shown for the classical style in architecture, or for that more ornate development of it which is called Palladian.

In Foster's eyes the construction of the Custom House was only part of one single big conception. The Custom House dome was meant to echo the dome of the Town Hall. Pool Lane, widened and brought into line with Castle Street, was to become part of a main north-and-south thoroughfare dominated at each end by a monumental public building, and spacious enough to be a worthy chief street of a great city. It was to be crossed almost at right angles by an east-and-west thoroughfare, also broad and stately, running inland from the river, and at the intersection there was to be a quadrant or circus, of which St. George's Church would be the central feature. Lord Street supplied the basis of the east-and-west thoroughfare. Under Foster's guidance its width was increased four-fold, the corners at the junction were rounded off into St. George's Crescent (Plate XLV), and a uniform style of architecture was imposed upon the future buildings here, the relics of which can still be seen in the crescent and on the south side of Lord Street. The idea was, in short, to produce something after the style of Regent Street and Oxford Circus. But the western and riverward part of the scheme could not be exactly carried out. There is some evidence that Foster wished to suppress James Street, and to cut a new thoroughfare down to the river more in a line with Lord Street. But this proved impracticable ; and in any case the symmetrical treatment of the western side of the quadrant would have been impossible so long as St. George's Church remained undisturbed. St. George's Crescent remains, however, as the monument of an early piece of town-planning, not ill-designed, but (like so many other things in Liverpool) never carried out in full. At any rate, both here and elsewhere, the aspect of the central part of the town was enormously improved. Its new dignity was maintained by the erection of a covered market in Great Charlotte Street to accommodate the sellers of vegetables and the butchers whose trafficking had disfigured Derby Square and Pool Lane.

John Foster was not the only man in these years who was conceiving fine plans for the beautifying of the cramped and ugly town. It is significant of the rise of a new civic sense that in 1816 a memorial

was presented to the Town Council suggesting the creation of a broad boulevard with four rows of trees round the boundaries of the Corporation's jurisdiction. Such a boulevard would enormously have increased the amenities of the town ; it would have started from the river at the bottom of Parliament Street, run due inland along the line of that street to the junction of Smithdown Lane, and then turning due north would have run to Kirkdale Road and thence to the river, traversing what was then open country and is now a wilderness of mean streets. It would not have cost much, for most of the land belonged to the Corporation. But the Town Council had not enough imagination to see the advantage of such a scheme, or not enough resources to undertake it ; and the chief interest of the project is that it points to a great lost opportunity, and that it gives witness to the rise of a new spirit.

Though this chance was sacrificed, it may fairly be claimed that the last years of the old close corporation had in some measure redeemed their earlier neglect. But in 1835 the close corporation was replaced by an elected council, who entered upon their task with a high sense of responsibility, and a genuine desire to amend the condition of the town. It would be out of place to give in this essay any account of their manifold reforming activities ;[1] we are concerned only with the effect upon the external aspect of the city. In that regard the main landmarks are marked with the passage of the three building Acts of 1842, 1846 and 1864, and by the work of Dr. Duncan, the first medical officer of health, and his successors in that office. The greatest claim to respect of the Town Councils of these years is the fact that, unlike their predecessors, they addressed themselves seriously to the problem presented by the horrible slum areas which had grown up during the preceding period. The magnitude of the existing evils had indeed never been at all realized either by the townsmen or by their rulers until in 1843 Dr. Duncan (then a medical man in private practice) described the conditions existing in the poorer quarters of the town. The results were firstly an arousing of the public conscience which has never gone to sleep again, and secondly the acquisition by the Town Council of powers to regulate buildings so as to prevent the future creation of such horrors as then existed, to demolish insanitary and dangerous houses, and to supervise and regulate lodging-houses. The first sign of the new régime was the compulsory closing of over 5000 cellars and the measuring and registering of 10,000 others. This was in 1847, and it may be said to mark the beginning of the campaign for clearing out the human cesspools which abounded in Liverpool more than in any other city. The

[1] The only account yet attempted is that contained in the last chapter of my "History of Liverpool," but the theme deserves a volume to itself. Here is a challenge to some young Liverpool scholar.

work went on unceasingly from that date, though it sometimes showed signs of flagging. But the process was a very slow one. Wholesale demolition was impossible while the inhabitants of the condemned quarters were unprovided with new homes ; and even the quarters erected under the new building regulations, though they could never become quite so fœtid as the old quarters, were liable to be turned into slums quickly enough when tenanted by a generation bred in the old conditions. It took five years at least to undo the thoughtless damage which a year of the old recklessness had committed : perhaps, indeed, the moral ruin which had been wrought can never be wholly repaired. And as yet the Town Council had taken no power to replace the old slums with new habitable dwellings ; they could only condemn and demolish, they could not build. Not until the power to erect new houses to accommodate the dispossessed was acquired could even demolition proceed at anything like a reasonable rate, and the day for this had not yet come. A single block of cottages was indeed erected in 1869, but for the real beginning of a systematic housing policy we have to wait till much later. And in the meanwhile the task of amelioration seemed a task of Sisyphus : Liverpool in 1875 still appeared to the world a sort of hell, and the *Times* in 1874, surveying the conditions of the town, could write that " Liverpool is a town whose leading inhabitants are negligent of their duties as citizens." It was not a just indictment. Liverpool was a town whose conditions were exceptionally difficult, and which had received from the previous age a terrible heritage of neglect ; she had made, even in this period, some grave blunders, such as the mad experiment of free licensing in 1861–3, which had greatly aggravated her difficulties. But she was not blind to the problem which faced her, she had taken some steps towards its solution, and she was soon to enter upon a new period of more fruitful and constructive work.

If the new representative council deserves the credit of having addressed itself to the problem of the slum, it attempted no great schemes of public improvement. There was no successor to Foster's big plan of 1826. It is perhaps a sufficient excuse that the Council was engaged upon other and more vital problems, hitherto neglected ; and to have spent large sums upon the beautifying of the town while the police system was still disorganised, the horrors of the slums unrelieved, and the water supply totally inadequate, might have seemed like cleansing the outside of the cup and platter. But if the Council did not initiate improvement projects, it gave encouragement and material assistance to several important schemes independently initiated.

The first and most important of these was the proposal for the erection of a great public hall, towards which £25,000 was

subscribed in 1835 by a body of private citizens—a welcome evidence of the growth of public spirit in the town. The outcome of this scheme was St. George's Hall, and when the plan grew so as to be beyond the reach of private enterprise, the Town Council, which had already provided the site, took over the project, and in completing it in 1854, dowered Liverpool with the noblest of all her public buildings, and one of the noblest public buildings in the world. Unhappily, as so often happens in Liverpool, the full nobility of the original design was not realized. The architect, Elmes, had dreamed of a great main entrance at the south end, to which access should be got by a wide flight of steps from a dignified public square or avenue : and he dreamed that when the huge bronze doors at the top of the steps were thrown open, they should disclose a splendid vista of the whole length of the hall. This part of the design was ruined by the placing of the two assize courts at each end of the hall. One of these comes close up against the main entrance, which has consequently become a sham, leading nowhither ; the great bronze doors are never opened ; no full-length vista can anywhere be obtained ; and the entrance, even for State occasions, is by mean side doors opening upon a narrow corridor. The other part of the scheme, the great flight of steps leading up from an open space, could not be carried out because of its costliness, and Elmes, after several experiments, one of which is shown in Plate LXIV, fell back upon the device of giving his great building an air of aloofness by raising it upon a cliff-like wall where the steps should have been. But his original scheme might have been combined with a fine public improvement, far less costly than the widening of a main thoroughfare. If a broad avenue had been driven due southwards from the great steps, it would have emerged at the corner of Church Street and Ranelagh Street, just at that busy junction of streets which is now the very nodus of shopping Liverpool, and helped to create a fine quadrant at this point. The vista of St. George's Hall up this avenue would have formed a wonderful addition to the beauty of the town ; the avenue itself would have materially improved communications, and its rateable value would in time have become far higher than that of the confused and narrow streets which it would have replaced. In matters of city-planning penny-wise is nearly always pound-foolish, and another great opportunity was here lost. But though the full value was not got out of St. George's Hall, that noble building is a κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί, and the generation which gave it to the city is not to be lightly condemned.

During the same period private enterprise equipped the town with two big schools, both housed in buildings of some architectural pretensions, and therefore forming evidences of the growth of a larger spirit in the town. These were the Liverpool Institute (originally

the Mechanics' Institution) for which a rather gloomy classical building was erected in Mount Street in 1837 (Plate XCIV), and the Collegiate School in Shaw Street (Plate LXXI), which, after being long known as the Liverpool College, has recently returned to its old title. Until these buildings were erected there was no good public secondary school in the town, except that of the Royal Institution (Plate LII), which had only been opened in 1817. It is worth noting that the two new schools were both built on the ridge overlooking the town, almost equidistant from the Town Hall, one towards the north, the other towards the south. Along the line which joins these two schools, or just above or below it, nearly all the important educational institutions of Liverpool have since been erected. This has been quite unintentional, but the result has been just what the most ingenious and far-sighted of town-planners might have designed. There has been created a sort of educational avenue, with the University at its central point, running north and south on the high ground overlooking the town, a little removed from the centres of commerce, but crossed by all the main arteries of communication which bring the suburban population into the business or the shopping quarter. So unconscious and unintentional has this development been that its existence is as yet unrecognized. The line of streets which at present forms this avenue is discontinuous and irregular, but it might without much difficulty be straightened out.

To private enterprise also the town owed, in the later years of the period, the initiation of worthy institutions of learning and art, the lack of which has been noted as a grave defect in the preceding period. In 1851 the thirteenth Earl of Derby bequeathed his collection of natural history specimens to the town, and almost at the same time a private subscription created the nucleus of a city library, for which the Town Council found a temporary home in the old Union News-room in Duke Street. In 1856 Sir William Brown provided the funds for a handsome library and museum in the classical style, facing St. George's Hall, and in the next year, when the building was opened, Mr. Joseph Mayer presented to the town his great archæological collections. Ten years later the circular Picton reading-room was erected to house the growing library, and in 1873 Mr. A. B. Walker added to the range of buildings a fine art gallery. The result of all these gifts was not only to equip the town with means of civilization, hitherto lacking, but to add greatly to its architectural dignity, and to bring about a substantial public improvement by sweeping away the mean buildings of Shaw's Brow which defiled the neighbourhood of St. George's Hall. The south side of Shaw's Brow (Plate LXVI) had been demolished in 1855, leaving exposed St. John's Churchyard as an open space, and the houses of the north side (Plate LXV) followed to make room for these

new public buildings. This was perhaps the greatest public improvement of the period, and though not yet completely carried out, it prepared the way for the more systematic treatment of a later date.

One more public improvement of the highest value marked the last years of the period. Hitherto the town authorities had made no attempt to reserve green spaces and pleasure-grounds in the town. The provision of public funds for such objects would have appeared wasteful to the utilitarian mind of the early century. The modest ladies' walks and seaward promenades of the eighteenth century had vanished to make room for warehouses and coal-yards, and in the middle of the nineteenth century there were scarcely any spaces of verdure within the bounds of the town, excepting the Botanic Gardens, the little St. James's Walk, and the semi-private Prince's Park. In 1868 the Town Council suddenly awoke to the need of preserving open spaces before it was too late, and at a cost of £670,000, they created at one stroke three great public pleasure-grounds, Sefton, Newsham, and Stanley Parks.

Thus by the end of our period, in 1875, whatever the *Times* might say, the civic spirit had really begun to get the upper hand of the conditions which had made Liverpool so ugly, mean and depressing a place in 1815. Liverpool was still far from a beautiful town. Still a majority of her population were condemned to dwell amid conditions hostile to good life, and productive of thriftlessness, dirt and vice. But at least these evils were recognized, and were beginning to be dealt with. Though no one was yet sufficiently enlightened to take an enlarged view of the town's growth, and to try to ensure by intelligent regulation that its future development should be dignified, orderly and spacious, yet, at any rate, the narrow and tortuous lanes which had disfigured the central area in the earlier period had been replaced by broad and handsome thoroughfares; the town had been adorned and ennobled by a series of monumental public buildings which had, without exception, achieved a fine dignity; the town was no longer given over solely to the pursuit of money, and tolerant of any amount of dirt and ugliness so long as they did not stand in the way of that supreme end, but had begun the erection of worthy temples for the cherishing of the higher tastes and interests of the citizen. In a word, the Liverpool of 1875 was ceasing to be a mere swarming hive of money-grubs, and was becoming a city—a civilizing force.

RAMSAY MUIR.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND DESCRIPTIONS

LIVERPOOL ABOUT 1680. *Painted in oils by a Dutch artist (about 1680). In the Liverpool Museum.*

THIS important painting is placed as the frontispiece to this volume, because it is the earliest known authentic view of Liverpool. The principal buildings in the picture are St. Nicholas' Church, the Tower of Liverpool, the Town Hall, and the Castle ; and the only street distinctly shown is Water Street. The ships in the river are of great interest, and when compared with the ships of other periods, as depicted in the river views by later artists, are historically valuable. It is interesting to note that thirty-two years before this picture was painted, Chester possessed 15 vessels with a total of 383 tons and 63 men, whereas Liverpool possessed 24 vessels with a total of 462 tons and 76 men. In 1689 the Commissioners of Customs reported that Chester had "not above 20 sail of small burden from 25 to 60 tons ;" but that Liverpool had "60 to 70 good ships of from 50 to 200 tons burden." The following is an extract from the Council Book, vol. xiv, p. 708, October 7, 1818.

"The Mayor having produced to this Council a letter from Ralph Peters, Esq., requesting the acceptance by the Council of an ancient picture of the Town in 1680 from which several prints have been taken."

Resolved "That the thanks of this Council be presented to Mr. Peters for his presentation of the picture, and that the Mayor be requested to communicate the same to him."

The painting was presented to the town by Ralph Peters, Esq., of Platbridge, Lancashire, son of Ralph Peters, Deputy Recorder of Liverpool, 1758–1802, and grandson of a still earlier Ralph Peters, who was Town Clerk, 1707–1743, but seems to have settled in Liverpool before the end of the seventeenth century.

KING JOHN'S LETTERS PATENT, A.D. 1207. *From the original document in the Liverpool Municipal Archives.*

Transcription (*abbreviations extended*) :

" JOHANNES Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, Dux Normanniæ, Aquitaniæ Comes Andegaviæ, omnibus fidelibus suis qui Burgagia apud villam de Liverpul habere voluerint salutem. Sciatis quod concessimus omnibus fidelibus nostris qui Burgagia apud Liverpul ceperint quod habeant omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines in villa de Liverpul quas aliquis liber Burgus super mare habet in terra nostra. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod secure et in pace nostra illuc veniatis ad Burgagia nostra recipienda et Hospitanda. Et in hujus rei testimonium has literas nostras patentes vobis transmittimus. Teste Simone de Pateshill apud Winton XXVIII die Augusti anno regni nostri IX."

Translation :

" John by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitane, Count of Anjou, to all his loyal subjects who may wish to have burgages in the township of Liverpul greeting. Know ye that we have granted to all our loyal subjects who shall take burgages in Liverpul that they shall have all the liberties and free customs in the township of Liverpul which any free borough on the sea has in our land. And therefore we command you that in safety and in our peace ye come thither to receive and occupy our burgages. And in testimony hereof we transmit to you these our letters patent. Witness Simon de Pateshill. At Winchester the 28th day of August in the 9th year of our reign " [1207].

This document is commonly, but incorrectly, spoken of as King John's Charter. It is not a charter, but strictly "letters patent," as it distinctly styles itself, granting to all the King's subjects who take burgages in Liverpool (*i.e.* building plots, the annual rent of which was one shilling per plot) all the liberties which any other free borough by the sea in England received ; and further commanding that those who came to take up burgages should do so freely and without disturbance.

King John passed through Lancashire in the year 1206, and may, among other objects, have had in view the necessity of founding a convenient port from which to embark the troops from his Lancashire lands for Ireland. There was no port in Lancashire at that date, and Chester and the River Dee were not quite satisfactory because they were under the control of the almost independent Earl of Chester, besides being inconvenient of access from Lancashire.

The first charter to Liverpool was given by King Henry III in the year 1229.


THE GREAT
HEATH
THE POOL
RIVER MERSEY

PLAN OF LIVERPOOL IN 1668. *Compiled by W. Fergusson Irvine, M.A., F.S.A.*

NO contemporary plan of the town at this period is known, and probably none was ever made. But contemporary plans of the Castle, of the line of fortifications, and of the three principal thoroughfares do exist ; and from a careful and laborious collation of these with ancient leases and conveyances of property, Mr. Irvine has constructed a map which is generally accepted as reliable.

The population of the town at this time was 5000, and the three principal thoroughfares were Water Street with Dale Street, Chapel Street with Tithebarn Street, and Castle Street with Juggler Street and Oldhall Street. The Pool was crossed by two bridges—the Townsend Bridge at the end of Dale Street, over what is now Byrom Street ; and the Pool Bridge, at the corner of the present King Street and South John Street, over what is now Paradise Street, to the bottom of Duke Street. This bridge was built of wood, and was provided with sluices. A third bridge was built over the Pool stream ; a few years after the date of this plan. It carried the new street (Lord Street) across the Pool, which ran along the line of the present Paradise Street and Whitechapel ; it replaced a ferry there, which had hitherto been the means of communication between the farms on the east side of the stream, and the town-market.

By this time the Castle was dismantled, though it was not to be demolished for nearly half a century ; and the townsmen were busy building ships and houses, and laying the foundations of that enormous development of trade which was very noticeable half a century later, and which shortly after that was a subject of world-wide comment. So far as this development can be shown in the increase of populated area, it may be seen in the next plan of the town (Plate IX).

LIVERPOOL CASTLE (*c.* 1232–1709). *From the drawing by E. W. Cox, in the possession of the publishers.*

THE Castle occupied the summit of a considerable eminence commanding the entrance to the Pool—Liverpool's harbour. It was probably built between the years 1232 and 1237 by the first William de Ferrers, and with its protective ditches or moat filled the space approximately now bounded on the north by Derby Square ; on the south by a line drawn from Redcross Street across South Castle Street ; on the east by St. George's Crescent ; and on the west by Preeson's Row. The Queen Victoria Memorial now stands almost in the centre of the land occupied by the Castle. The main entrance to the Castle faced Castle Street, not directly, but obliquely towards Harrington Street ; and on the east side was the Castle orchard, through which a footpath, now represented by Lord Street, led to the ferry over the Pool, somewhere near the present junction of Lord Street with Church Street.

Liverpool suffered three sieges during the Civil War, the last one being in 1644. Mr. W. Fergusson Irvine, in his introduction to Sir Edward Moore's "Liverpool in King Charles the Second's Time," referring to Moore's experiences of that siege, says : " He was only a boy when, in Whitsuntide of 1644, Prince Rupert carried the old town by assault ; and, as Moore himself tells us, for many hours put all to the sword, giving no quarter. He may even have watched with terrified interest from the windows of the Old Hall, as in the quiet grey of the early morning the desperate fight surged past the gateway, and may have seen the well-known forms of his father's tenants go down before the victorious Royalists, as they swept all opposition before them, and rolled the battle down High Street to the gates of the old Castle itself."

After the Civil War the townsmen were anxious that the Castle should be dismantled, and they succeeded in getting a Parliamentary order for carrying out their wishes. But the order was never carried out, and it was only in the year 1704, when the Castle had fallen into a very dilapidated state, and was inhabited by tenants over whom the Town Council had no jurisdiction, that power to demolish the building altogether was obtained, and was carried into effect between the years 1709 and 1720, the last piece of an outer wall disappearing in the year 1725.

Several contemporary plans of the Castle are known, and after a careful examination of these, together with much documentary evidence bearing on the subject, the late Mr. Cox made this drawing.





THE TOWER OF LIVERPOOL. *From a drawing by J. McGahey, in the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

THE date of the Tower of Liverpool as a fortified building is generally agreed to be 1406. The land upon which it stood belonged to the de Knowsley family, a branch of the de Lathom family in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and possibly a house stood upon part of the land before it was inherited by Isabel Lathom, sister of Sir Thomas Lathom, and wife of Sir John Stanley, about the year 1390. But as a fortified house the earliest record of the Tower is in the licence granted to Sir John Stanley in 1406, to embattle his house of stone and lime.

The possession of the property and the building of the Tower mark the beginning of the intimate connection which the House of Stanley has ever since held with Liverpool.

The Tower was used by the Stanleys as a residence, and remained in their possession until the year 1651, when the treason of James, seventh Earl of Derby (or his loyalty, whichever way the matter is viewed) caused all his English estates to be forfeited. But in 1665 the Tower was again the property of the Derby family; and in 1682 the ninth Earl of Derby leased it to Thomas Clayton, a Liverpool merchant, and formerly Mayor of the town.

In 1702 the Tower was inherited by Henrietta, daughter of the ninth Earl of Derby and wife of Lord Ashburnham; and by them it was sold for £1140 to Richard Clayton of Adlington, in whose family it remained until the year 1775, when it was sold to the Corporation of Liverpool for £905. In the year 1819 the building was pulled down in order that Water Street might be widened, and thus was the oldest building in Liverpool sacrificed to the appeal of commerce and the exigencies of the local exchequer.

In the year 1648 the daughters of the Earl of Derby were imprisoned in the Tower, and in the year 1651 Lord Molyneux was imprisoned there.

The Earls of Derby gave grand social entertainments in the Tower, and after they ceased to use it as a place of occasional residence it was leased in 1735 to John Earle, an ancestor of the present family of Earles of Liverpool. The building was used as the town gaol; while the upper rooms were used as assembly rooms for dancing, cards, and other entertainments, until the third Liverpool Town Hall was built, when the locale of those functions was transferred thither.

The earliest view of the Tower is shown in the view of Liverpool in 1680, which forms the frontispiece to this volume.

VIEW OF LIVERPOOL WHEN BESIEGED BY PRINCE RUPERT, 1644. *In the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

THIS interesting drawing was compiled from a drawing by Randle Holme, son of Randle Holme the Herald of Chester, and a survey taken by Randle Holme, Chester Herald, 1597, and other authentic and original documents. It was copied by Joseph Butler in 1862, and, although it has not the value of an original document, is of great interest. Prince Rupert fixed his head-quarters on Everton Hill, in a field at the back of a cottage, since well known, and often painted, as "Prince Rupert's Cottage"; and the arrival of his army on Beacon Hill, after its cruel treatment of the people of Bolton, struck terror into the inhabitants of Liverpool, so that a great number of women and children were sent across the Mersey to Storeton Hill, where there was an armed camp under Col. Mitton. Seacombe, in his account of the siege, states that Prince Rupert never would have taken Liverpool had not Colonel John Moore treacherously surrendered it, possibly to save his house and effects at Bank Hall, and his extensive property in the town.

Liverpool suffered three sieges during the Civil War. The first siege took place in 1643, probably towards the end of the month of May; and after two days of severe fighting Colonel Assheton, for the Parliament, captured the town from the Royalists under Colonel Tyldesley. The second siege took place in June 1644, when Colonel John Moore was governor of the town. It was conducted by Prince Rupert with great vigour, and with heavy loss, owing to the ability and determination of the defence; and, as stated above, tradition attributes Prince Rupert's ultimate success to the treachery of Colonel Moore. The third siege began in September 1644, and ended on November 1 the same year. Sir Robert Byron then held the town for the Royalists; but his troops mutinied, and then deserted to Sir John Meldrum, who was conducting the siege; and Liverpool fell once more into the hands of the Roundheads.

A most interesting account of these sieges will be found in Professor Ramsay Muir's "History of Liverpool," chap. ix.





THE SECOND TOWN HALL, 1673. *From a drawing by W. Herdman, in the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

IN Liverpool the Town Hall and the Exchange have been so closely associated from the earliest recorded times that they may almost be regarded as one and the same place ; and notwithstanding the fact that some of the merchants have built special exchanges for their own trade in various parts of the town, a number of merchants still meet on the Exchange adjoining the present Town Hall.

Of the first Town Hall little is known beyond the fact that it was a small thatched house on the east side of Juggler Street (afterwards named High Street), the site of which is now covered by the west side of Liverpool and London Chambers. No pictorial representation of the building exists, but among the many uses to which it was put was that of Custom House ; and therefore it would be the most frequent meeting-place of the merchants of the town.

The principal building represented in this picture is the second Liverpool Town Hall. It was a stone building, supported on open arches, and similar in appearance to many town halls existing to-day in small country towns. It was erected in the year 1673 on the site of the High Cross, at the north end of Castle Street, in front of the present Town Hall. The open space beneath the arches was used by the merchants as an Exchange in wet weather ; and the upper apartments were used for municipal purposes. When it was erected the people were very proud of it, because it was a great improvement upon the first Town Hall they possessed, and as the merchants made it a daily rendezvous it was oftener spoken of as the Exchange than as the Town Hall. The antiquary, Richard Blome, who visited the town in 1673 just before the Hall was opened, describes it as "a famous Town House, placed on pillars and arches of hewen stone ; and underneath is the publick Exchange for the merchants." The building was taken down in the year 1755, and a new Town Hall, the subject of the next illustration, was erected.

THE THIRD TOWN HALL. *From the engraving by Edward Rooker, after P. P. Burdett in Enfield's "History of Leverpool," 1773.*

THE collapse of some of the pillars and arches of the second Town Hall, in the year 1740, rendered the building unsafe, and with a view to relieving the pressure upon the other supports "the great turret" was immediately taken down. But even that relief failed to arrest further decay, so the whole building was condemned a few years afterwards, and a third Town Hall and Exchange was erected, and still stands on the north side of Water Street, facing Castle Street. This beautiful building was designed by John Wood, of Bath. The first stone was laid in the year 1749, and the building was opened in the year 1754. A visitor to Liverpool in 1753 was impressed by the dimensions and beauty of the structure, and writing anonymously in Williamson's "Liverpool Memorandum Book" for that year, remarks that the building "is now near finished, and for its size is not to be paralleled in Europe."

The enormous growth of trade and population in Liverpool between the years 1673 and 1748 demanded increased accommodation for the merchants and the affairs of the municipality, and both necessities were deemed to be fully provided for in this, the handsomest building the town had ever possessed. The ground-floor, beneath the arches, was used by the merchants for their Exchange, as of yore, and the upper apartments were handsomely furnished and reserved for civic purposes, including that of public offices.

It was to the new and beautiful rooms in this building that the fashionable assemblies, dances, and card-parties were transferred from the upper rooms in the Tower of Liverpool, and it was in these rooms that Samuel Derrick, Master of the Ceremonies at Bath, witnessed a scene which in its grandeur and decency surprised him. Writing in 1760 in reference to one of these entertainments, he says he found the women "elegantly accomplished and perfectly well-dressed. The proceedings are regulated by a lady stiled the Queen, and she rules with very absolute power."

In the year 1795 the interior of the building and the roof were destroyed by fire, but all the main walls were uninjured, and the Town Records were saved. In the year 1797 the restoration was complete; but shortly after that so many alterations and additions were made to accommodate the still further increase of the trade and population of the town, that in a few years what was practically a new Town Hall had been built, devoted entirely to municipal purposes, and a new Exchange—the largest in England, if not in Europe—had been provided for the merchants, on land behind the Town Hall, with the monument to Lord Nelson, which still ennobles the present Exchange, in its midst.





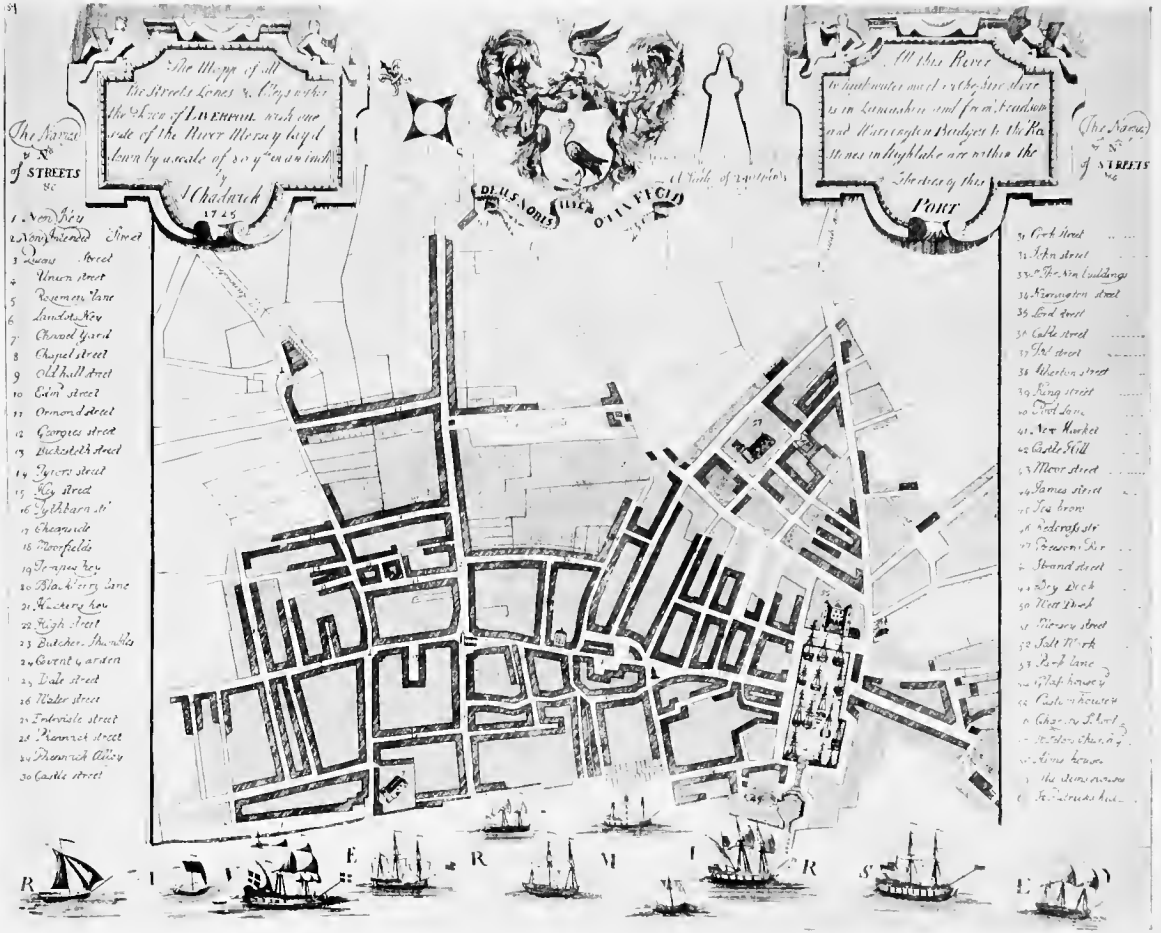
THE FOURTH TOWN HALL. *From an engraving by W. Woolnoth after J. C. Smith, in Britton and Brayley's "Beauties of England and Wales."*

THE restoration and enlargement of the third Town Hall occupied a quarter of a century, and were carried out with great care and good judgment. The main walls of the old building were retained, and the additions, with the exception of the dome, were executed in the same style, under the superintendence of the London architect, James Wyatt. The dome and cupola, lighted with windows, and surmounted by a figure of Britannia—measuring 12 feet high, executed by the celebrated sculptor Richard Westmacott, R.A., and costing £400—were completed in the year 1802 ; about the same time, the four statues, representing the four seasons, also by Westmacott, which still surmount the north façade, were placed in position at a cost of £500. The projecting portico and arcade at the front were finished in 1811, and the whole building was regarded as finished in the year 1820. On account of its increased size and altered appearance it is generally spoken of as the fourth Town Hall, and with the exception of a few minor alterations which have been carried out from time to time, the building is the same externally now as it was then.

It is one of Liverpool's noblest and most elegant buildings, in the very centre of Liverpool's vast commercial activities ; and the pride which it inspired in our ancestors still lives in the veneration with which it is regarded by the citizens to-day.

MAP OF LIVERPOOL, 1725. *From the copy in the Athenæum, Liverpool.*

AFTER the last siege of Liverpool, in the year 1644, the town was partially rebuilt by means of liberal grants from Parliament, and began to advance rapidly in size, population, and commerce. When it had reached the considerable dimensions shown in this map the Corporation commissioned James Chadwick, a Liverpool surveyor, to make an exact survey of the township, and in October 1725 voted the sum of £6 to be handed to him to defray part of the cost. The result of his labours is shown in the accompanying map, which is the first official map of Liverpool, and therefore a document of great importance. A glance at it shows the great changes which had taken place during fifty-seven years—assuming that Mr. Irvine's map (Plate II) presents a fairly reliable picture of the town in 1668. The Castle has gone, and its site is occupied by streets, a market-place, and residences. The Pool has disappeared, and its course is covered by a dock, streets and buildings ; and most important of all the innovations is the great Wet Dock, the first in the world, with a Dry, or Graving, Dock beside it. The population of the town, which in the year 1669 was 5000, had risen to 11,833 in the year 1720, and was probably not less than 12,000 at the time this map was made. The shipping trade showed a similar expansion. In the year 1702, 102 vessels were owned in Liverpool, and about 1000 seamen were employed ; but when the dock was completed, in the year 1715, the shipping of the port increased so rapidly that in the year 1753 the number of vessels owned in Liverpool had risen to 347, and the number of seamen to about 4000 ; and the tonnage from about 8500 in 1702 to about 30,000 in 1751.


The Names & Nos of STREETS &c
1 New Key
2 Nong Intended Street
3 Queens Street
4 Union street
5 Rosemary Lane
6 Lands Key
7 Orwood Yard
8 Chapel Street
9 Old hall Street
10 Exin Street
11 Ormond Street
12 Georges street
13 Pickersgill Street
14 Tytors street
15 Key street
16 Tylthorn st
17 Cheapside
18 Moorfields
19 Tompey Key
20 Blackberry Lane
21 Hackney Row
22 High Street
23 Butcher Shambles
24 Covent Garden
25 Dale street
26 Water street
27 Enterdale street
28 Pennick street
29 Pennick Alley
30 Castle street
The Names & Nos of STREETS &c
31 Cook Street
32 John street
33 The New Buildings
34 Kensington street
35 Lord street
36 Castle Street
37 Tal street
38 Allerton street
39 King street
40 Tod Lane
41 New Market
42 Castle Still
43 Moor street
44 James street
45 Tea house
46 Anderson str
47 Parsons Row
48 Strand street
49 Dry Dock
50 Wet Dock
51 Pitt street
52 Salt Work
53 Roff Lane
54 Rope house
55 Custom house
56 Chapel School
57 Toll house
58 Sluice house
59 The Sluice
60 St Patricks Isle
The Mouth of the River
to high water mark on the Sea Shore
is in Lancashire and from Leadsdon
and Waterloo in Bredgest to the Ra
stones in High lake are within the
Liberties of this
PORT
Chadwick
1725
DELIS NOBIS CIVICA OFFA FECIT
MERSEY RIVER

THE SOUTH WEST PROSPECT OF LIVERPOOLE, IN THE COUNTY PALATINE OF LANCASTER.



SOUTH-WEST PROSPECT OF LIVERPOOL, 1728. *Drawn and engraved by S. and N. Buck, from the print in the possession of the publishers.*

THIS is the earliest authentic dated view of Liverpool from the river. It was drawn by Samuel Buck, of London, a topographical draughtsman and engraver, who spent the summer months of many years touring the country and making accurate and highly finished sketches of important cities, towns, castles, abbeys, etc., and, with the assistance of his brother Nathaniel, occupied the winter months in engraving them. The result of their labours was published between the years 1727 and 1740, and in the year 1774 their engravings were republished with additions, and descriptive text, in three large volumes containing 500 well-engraved plates.

St. George's Church, built on the site of the Castle, is a striking feature in the landscape ; but it was not there in 1728 when the plate was engraved. The building was only commenced in the year 1727, and the church was consecrated in the year 1734 ; so probably the figure was put in from the architect's drawing, to which Buck may have had access when in Liverpool In the lower margin of the print it is called "The New Church," showing that Buck did not know its name, and certainly the edifice was not officially named until six years after the plate was engraved.

The Dock is shown, and the landing-pier from which the ferry-boats started, and two of those boats are shown in the foreground on their way to Eastham and Rock Ferry.

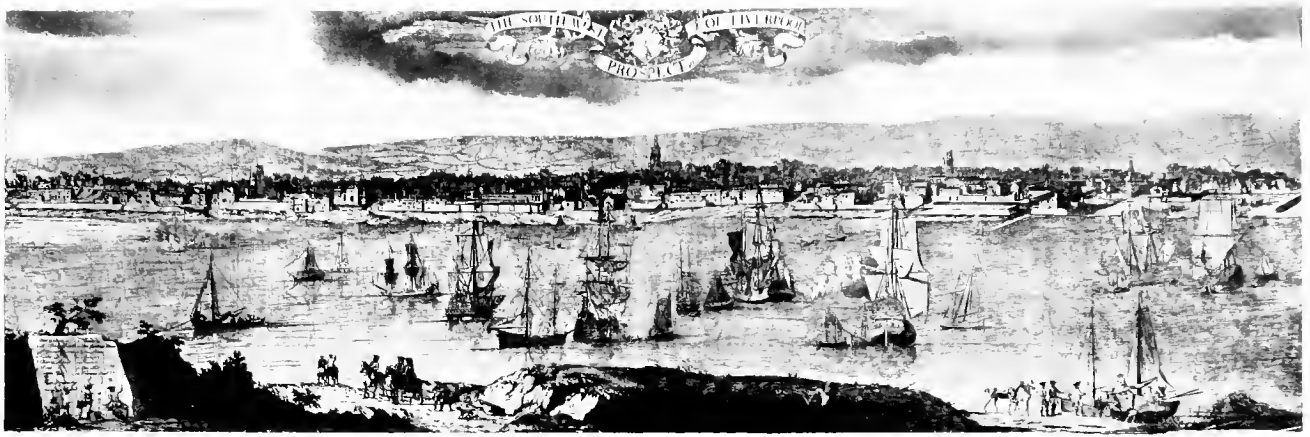
Every detail of this view is interesting, and not the least is the character of the background, which consists of the high land stretching from Everton Beacon on the north to St. James's Mount on the south.

SOUTH-WEST PROSPECT OF LIVERPOOL, 1735 (?).

Painter and engraver unknown. From the original print in the Athenæum.

THIS view is of similar date to the preceding one, but it is the work of a better artist, and is so rare that only a comparatively few people know of its existence. The print from which the present reproduction is made is the only one known ; and unfortunately it does not bear the name of the artist or engraver, nor even a date of publication. It does, however, bear the following legend which enables us to fix that date approximately—"Printed for Robt. Williamson, Liverpool." Robert Williamson (among many other occupations) was a printer in Castle Street from 1752 to 1773, and the print would be published by him between those dates. But the picture from which the engraving was made was certainly painted earlier than that, though not earlier than 1730, because St. George's Church was not built earlier ; and not later than 1740, because at that time the building of the Salthouse Dock was in very active progress, and the change in that locality would be indicated by so careful an artist, if it had taken place. Therefore we suggest 1735 as an approximate date for the painting of the picture, and 1755 for the date of engraving and publication.

On the stern of one of the vessels in the foreground the ship's name is printed thus—17–The Restoration–25, and the presence of that date has led some one to endorse the print with it in two places. The date is only that of the vessel herself, and has nothing whatever to do with the date of the picture, which could not possibly be so early, because the Corporation only passed their resolution to build a new church on the site of the large square tower of the Castle on November 2, 1726.


THE SOUTH WEST PROSPECT OF LIVERPOOL


BANK

CASTLE STREET. *From an engraving by T. Malton, after G. Perry, 1792, in the possession of the Athenæum, Liverpool.*

THIS handsome street is depicted about six years after it was widened under an Act of Parliament, and it is a great pity that when the work was undertaken the west side was not set farther back so as to have brought the Town Hall in the centre of the street. As it is, the western side of the Town Hall is obscured by the projecting street buildings when viewed from the south.

Mr. W. Fergusson Irvine's description of this street is very interesting. He says, "Castle Street may be taken as the centre of the old town, running as it did between the Castle and the High Cross. In no instance, perhaps, is the difference between Moore's time and ours more marked than in this street. In his time it was only five yards wide for the greater part of its length, though it widened out, funnel like, at the Town Hall end. When it is understood that the present street is twenty yards wide at the narrowest part, or four times the width it was in Moore's day, we may realize something of the difference. The only street that broke its frontage was Fenwick Alley, now approximately represented by the upper part of Brunswick Street, on its west side. Then, in addition to this, the street only ran as far as the top of the modern Harrington Street, as at this point the Castle trench barred the way, a footpath leading round the north-east corner of the Castle to the top of Lord Molyneux's new street (now Lord Street), which he was actually laying out at this time. At the north end of Castle Street, and the west end of Dale Street, the Fair of Liverpool used to be held. In the widening of Castle Street the east side has practically remained unaltered in its alignment, the west side having been thrown back about fifty feet at the south end, though considerably less at the north end."

It is interesting to note, when compared with the present rents, that in 1561 a house in Castle Street was occupied at an annual rental of four pounds (£4), and in 1346 an orchard and dovecote, near the Castle, were let at an annual rental of 13s. 4d.

SOUTH-EAST PROSPECT OF LIVERPOOL, 1770. *From a drawing by Michael Angelo Rooker, in the possession of the Earl of Sefton.*

THIS and the following engraving are reproduced directly from the original water-colour drawings in the possession of the Earl of Sefton, who has kindly placed them in the publishers' hands for reproduction. The first is interesting as showing the Liverpool of that date as seen from the Seacombe boat-house on the opposite side of the river ; and the second exhibits the town when looking toward the river from the bowling-green which was situated at the top of Upper Duke Street, where Sandon Terrace afterwards was, and the Liverpool Institute playground and a public garden now are. Both pictures were very faithfully engraved by Edward Rooker, father of the painter of them, and were published in Liverpool in the year 1770. Three years after the engravings were published, namely, 1773, there were 5928 inhabited houses, 412 uninhabited houses, whilst the population of the town was 34,407.





VIEW OF THE TOWN AND HARBOUR OF LIVERPOOL IN 1770. *From a drawing by Michael Angelo Rooker, in the possession of the Earl of Sefton.*

UPPER DUKE STREET is the modern name of the lane on the left of this picture ; and the more important buildings, from left to right, are St. Thomas's Church, Park Lane, St. George's Church, St. Nicholas' Church, the old Town Hall, St. Peter's Church, St. Paul's Church, and the Infirmary (where St. George's Hall now stands) ; and the windmills on the extreme right are in the neighbourhood of modern Lime Street and Islington. All these buildings have either disappeared altogether, or have been altered in appearance, except two—St. Paul's Church (which is shortly to be pulled down) and St. Peter's Church.

On the opposite side of the river, on the left-hand side of the picture, the mouth of Wallasey Pool (now the entrance to Birkenhead Docks) is visible.

In the year 1770, the date of this and the preceding view, Liverpool was very actively engaged in the shipbuilding trade, and commerce with newly discovered lands beyond the seas, with all its adventures, risks, and profit, absorbed the attention of the bulk of the inhabitants. The first sod of the Leeds and Liverpool Canal was cut in this year ; and the birth of the cotton trade between America and this country took place, the imports being three bags from New York, four bags from Virginia and Maryland, and three barrels from North Carolina. In this year also the Mayor received warrants to impress seamen into the Navy, and the Town Council offered one guinea bounty to each able seaman, and half a guinea to each able-bodied landsman, who would volunteer for the service. Trouble with America had been steadily brewing, and in 1770 some soldiers at Boston fired on a threatening crowd with deadly effect. Three years after, the tea was thrown into Boston harbour, and England and America drifted into war.

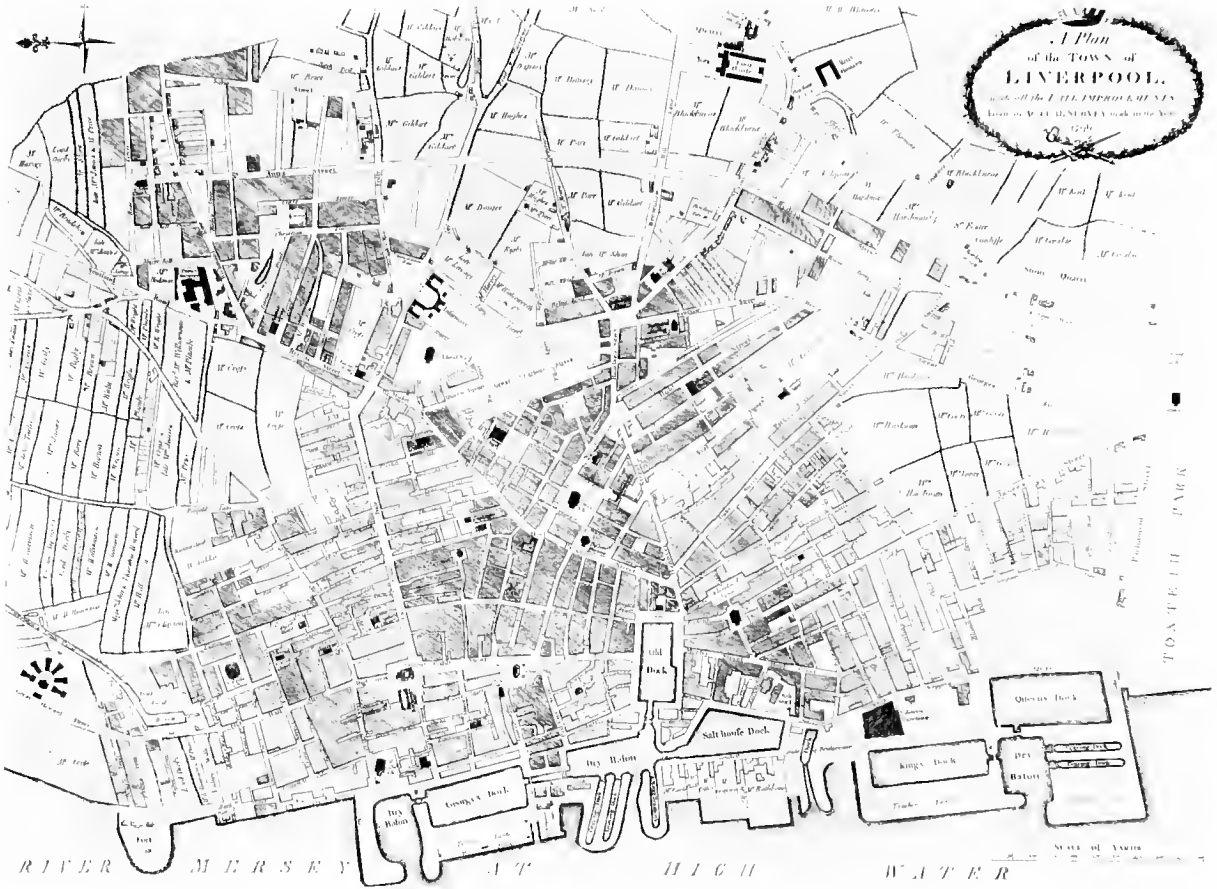
PLAN OF LIVERPOOL, 1796. *From the engraving in the Liverpool Museum.*

SEVENTY years had passed since the first official map of Liverpool (Plate IX) was made, and those years had witnessed an enormous growth of the town, which this plan enables us to realize. The plan is not signed with the name of its author, but it was made from an actual survey (probably that of Charles Eyes) and is therefore trustworthy.

The town has extended in all directions, even the river being pushed back by walls and embankments, and the land thereby reclaimed utilized for docks, quays, and warehouses. Scores of new streets intersect the fields which occupied large portions of the very centre of the town when the other plan was made; and houses, shops, and warehouses, closely packed together, fill almost every available space in the old streets. A new and handsome Town Hall has been built; many new churches, a new and larger infirmary (where St. George's Hall now stands), and a large and most commodious, perhaps even comfortable, gaol in Great Howard Street have been erected.

The population has risen in number from about 12,000 to about 65,000, and the dock accommodation has increased from one dock with an area of about $3\frac{1}{3}$ acres, to five docks with an area of nearly 34 acres; while the one small graving dock has been closed, and five new ones, each of far greater capacity, have replaced it. The number of vessels entering the docks has grown from approximately (the exact figure is not available) 1000 in 1725, to 4738 in 1796; and the tonnage, entered and cleared, from 18,500 to 260,500.

Lord Erskine, who visited the town in 1792, surveyed it from an eminence, and was so greatly impressed by what he saw that he exclaimed at the end of an eloquent tribute: "I must have been a stock or stone not to be affected by such a picture."


A Plan
of the TOWN of
LIVERPOOL.
RIVER MERSEY AT HIGH WATER
Old Dock
Salt house Dock
Queens Dock
Kings Dock
Dry Ballon
TOXTETH PARK



HIGH STREET, EAST SIDE. *Water-colour drawing by W. Herdman. In the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

JUGGLER STREET, afterwards named High Street, was once one of the main streets of Liverpool, the White Cross and the High Cross standing at either end. In the year 1654 a special resolution was passed by the Corporation, "that a lantern should be fixed at the High Cross, and likewise another at the White Cross, during the time of the dark Moon"—evidence of early public street lighting. Whilst referring to the subject of street lighting, it may be of interest to state that it was in January 1816 that the experiment of lighting Liverpool by gas was first tried in front of the Town Hall, and a contemporary writer says, "It is only necessary to observe the gas lamp at the coachmakers, in Dale Street, lately put forth, which gives nearly as much light as all the other lamps in the street."

This drawing shows the street as it existed in 1797, and is based on a water-colour drawing by J. Foster. The view is from the corner of Tithebarn Street towards Dale Street; and where the row of buildings ends, in the left of the picture, is now about the site of Exchange Post Office and the offices of the Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Co. Opposite to this corner a portion of the east front of the Town Hall is seen, with palings round it to facilitate the restoration of the building, after the fire of 1795. All the buildings on the west side of High Street, *i.e.* the right-hand side of this picture, were swept away to make a clear space or court for the Exchange.

DALE STREET. *From a drawing by W. Herdman, after a drawing by George Perry. In the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

THIS, one of Liverpool's most ancient streets, commenced at the High Cross, which stood about half-way between the steps leading to the present Town Hall, and the present London City and Midland Bank in Dale Street. It was the most populous street in 1566. In that year Queen Elizabeth made a grant in aid of the endowment of the free school, and the burgesses of Liverpool desiring to add to it by an assessment of the inhabitants, issued a list of the numbers of the householders in the principal streets. They were : Dale Street, 72 ; Water Street, 13 ; Castle Street, 23 ; Juggler Street (*i.e.* High Street), 15 ; Chapel Street, 7 ; Mylne Street (now Old Hall Street), 8 ; Moore Street (now Tithebarn Street), 13. The street was a highway where the pack-horses arrived and departed on their way to and from the east and north, and there was always a goodly number of inns to be found there, because the accommodation they afforded was required by travellers who came from afar to do business in the town.

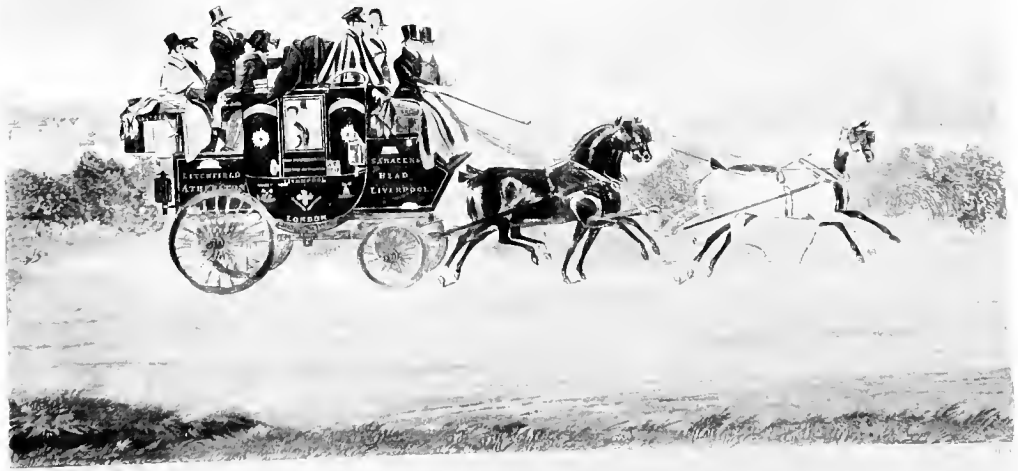
Of course that shrewd Sir E. Moore saw its possibilities of development, and in his Rental, written in 1667–8, gives his son some worldly advice concerning his property there, and his tenants ; and because one of them had been found on, or near, his warren, he tells his son to be careful concerning him, for he is "a very knave, and a great hunter of coneys in my warren."

There were important houses and family residences to be found there, and Blome, who visited Liverpool in 1673, describes Sir John Crosse as living in a fine mansion in Dale Street. This was one of the family of the Crosse who founded the first free grammar school in Liverpool, and after whom Crosshall Street is named. Sir Edward Moore, who hated a monopoly unless he possessed it, had a mill near the street, sharing with the Crosses the exclusive right of grinding corn, taking one bushel in twenty as toll, and perhaps dipping twice to be sure the miller had not forgotten !

When the roads were improved, and stage coaches commenced, they rattled out of the street from the Saracen's Head or the Angel. Besides these inns there were in the street "The Golden Lion," "The Angel and Crown," "The Bull and Punch Bowl," "The Wool Pack," "The Fleece," and others. In the year 1708 we find it reported that "Margaret Justice be whipt the next day at 2 o'clock in the afternoon at a cart's tail, and Ann Blevin and Jane Justice be carryed in the cart at the same time, from the Exchange to Jane Justice's house in Dale Street." The street in those days was very narrow, probably only a few yards across.

This drawing represents Dale Street as it appeared in 1804.


NEVITT
Printing Office
ISHAW
SADDLER


LITCHFIELD
SARACENS
HEAD
LIVERPOOL
LONDON

THE LIVERPOOL "UMPIRE," ABOUT 1820. *Painted by Pollard, engraved by G. Hunt. In the Liverpool Museum.*

FACILITIES for travelling between Liverpool and London early in the eighteenth century were not great, and the general method of making the journey for gentlemen was on horseback, and for ladies in hired coaches. The roads were difficult and infested by highwaymen, so that horsemen often travelled in companies for safety. It is difficult to say when a direct communication by coach between Liverpool and London was first established, but there was certainly a service in 1766, because the first "Gore's Liverpool Directory," published in that year, states: "There are two Stage Coaches which go constantly to London, viz. in three days during the winter season, and in two days during the summer season; one from the Golden Talbot, in Water Street, Thomas Sutton, bookkeeper; and the other from the Millstone, in Castle Street, Samuel Adams, bookkeeper." It is also known that there was a stage between Liverpool and Manchester running in 1768, for in that year the *Liverpool Chronicle* of January 21 gives an account of an accident to the driver. But a new era in coaching commenced for Liverpool when the "Bangup" left Liverpool for Birmingham, finishing the journey in fourteen hours; but especially when the "Umpire" was put on the road to give a regular service between Liverpool and London, for in comfort, speed, and the regularity with which it started and arrived at its destination it marked a great advance on the older service. This light post-coach left every afternoon at one o'clock carrying only four passengers inside, and the route was through Knutsford, Brereton Green, Newcastle, Stone, Lichfield, Tamworth, Northampton, arriving at the Saracen's Head, Snow Hill, and Golden Cross, Charing Cross, London, by seven o'clock the next evening, so that only one night was spent on the road. The coach left the Saracen's Head Inn, Dale Street, Liverpool, which was situated at the top of Peter Street, leading out of Whitechapel.

The fares charged by the Royal Mail Coach in 1790, which left the Talbot Inn, Water Street, "with a guard all the way," and which took twenty-seven hours to accomplish the journey from Liverpool to London, were to Warrington 6s., to Coventry £1 18s., and to London £3 3s.

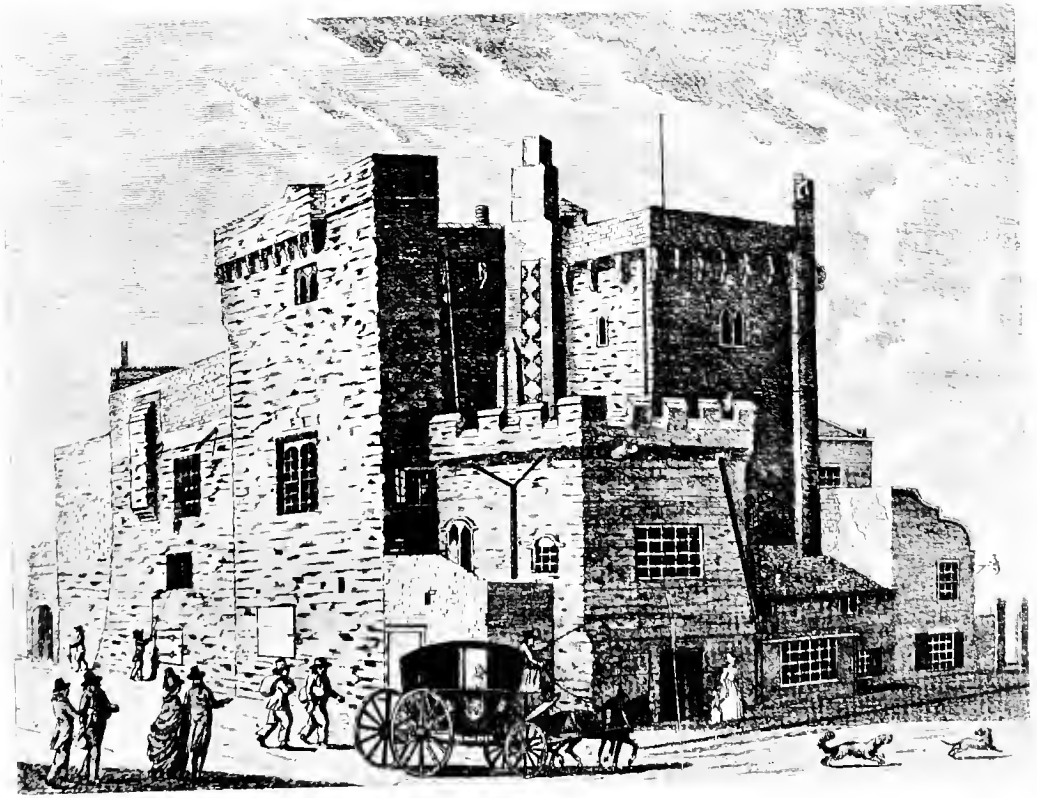
In October of 1826 the road between Liverpool and Manchester must have been in good condition, for the "Regulator" made the journey of thirty-six miles in two hours and thirty-two minutes.

WATER STREET. *From a drawing by G. and C. Pyne, in the Mayer Papers, Liverpool Free Public Library.*

SEVERAL streets have been mentioned as among the old streets of Liverpool, and perhaps it is as well to state here that Water Street is among the most ancient of them all. It was originally called " Bonke Street," and under that name is frequently mentioned in deeds of the thirteenth century and later. Water Street leads from the river front nearly due east, and conveyed most of the traffic from Cheshire and Wales into the centre of the town, which was well watched and guarded by the Castle, whilst the Tower guarded the approach to the Pool or Harbour, and also the landing of goods from the ships, which took place during the seventeenth century at the bottom of Water Street, almost beneath the Tower walls. The Prior of Birkenhead had a storehouse at the bottom of this street, in which he kept the corn grown on his Cheshire lands, intended for sale in the Liverpool market.

This interesting drawing was made in 1828, before the street was widened for the second time, and the point of view is from the bottom of Water Street due east to the Town Hall, which is shown on the crest of the hill.


GONZE



THE TOWER OF LIVERPOOL.

THIS view is reproduced from a rare proof engraving inserted in Matthew Gregson's extra-illustrated copy of Troughton's "History of Liverpool" in the possession of the Liverpool Free Public Library. The original sketch was made by N. Johnson (probably Nicholas Johnson, a custom-house officer in Liverpool) about the year 1790, and was also engraved by him about the same time under the direction of Matthew Gregson, author of the well-known work "Portfolio of Fragments relative to the History . . . of . . . Lancashire."

For a description of the Tower see page 5; but it is worth noting here that in spite of its long history and the important part it played in the life of the town, next to nothing is known about the interior of the building. During the war with France it was used as a prison, and two of the Frenchmen incarcerated there escaped under somewhat romantic conditions. Later on the Tower was used as a gaol for debtors, who sometimes hung out bags from the barred windows to attract the alms of the charitable passing down Water Street.

VIEW OF LIVERPOOL, 1796. *Painted by J. T. Serres, etched by J. T. Serres. In the possession of the publishers.*

SERRES' picture was painted and published in momentous times for England, and for Liverpool, and it will be noticed that Serres represents armed vessels in both this and the next picture. In 1796 a body of Frenchmen was sent by Napoleon to ascend the Avon and burn Bristol, and the force actually landed at Fishguard Bay, in Pembrokeshire, where it was defeated by a small but gallant force under Lord Cawdor. In the following year, the date of the publication of the print, news reached Liverpool that a French expedition was in Cardigan Bay, and was advancing on Liverpool to burn the shipping and destroy the docks. A meeting of the citizens was called, at which there was great unanimity of opinion, all classes offering themselves for enrolment for the defence of the port.

Money was exceedingly scarce; the Bank of England was unable to meet its payments in specie; and a meeting of merchants in London resolved to take bank-notes to any amount, notes of one pound and two pounds being issued. Perhaps the rarity of Serres' prints is explained by the scarcity of money during the year of their publication, few copies being printed on account of the difficulty of obtaining subscribers.





LIVERPOOL FROM THE ROCK PERCH, 1797. *Painted by J. T. Serres, etched by J. T. Serres. In the possession of the publishers.*

THERE are four prints in this series, all of which are views of Liverpool, and space has been found for the two most interesting. This view is described by the artist as being taken from the Rock Perch, and was issued by Robert Preston and Co., Castle Street, Liverpool, in March 1797, the previous print being issued in May of the same year, by the same publishers.

CHAPEL STREET. *From a drawing by W. G. Herdman, in the possession of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board.*

CHAPEL STREET has always been one of Liverpool's important thoroughfares, and in the early days some of Liverpool's wealthiest merchants resided there. Laurence Spence, who was Mayor of the town in 1759, had his home in the street, as did William Hesketh, Mayor in 1783. On turning to "Liverpool's First Directory," edited by Mr. G. T. Shaw, to which he added for the first time a Street Directory of 1766, we find residing in the street two surgeons, the Collector of Excise, a lawyer, and several merchants; and there was also a boarding school. Picton says: "The cattle market was held in Chapel Street as early as 1571. A relic of this continued to exist down to modern times in the pig market, which was held on the site of the present Rumford Place, until removed to Great Howard Street about 1840, and subsequently discontinued." Herdman's drawing is based on one in the Foster Collection, which represents the street as it appeared in 1797. It will be noticed that at that date there were still some of the old picturesque houses standing. Sir Edward Moore, author of "Liverpool in King Charles the Second's Time," who had such a shrewd view of the future of Liverpool, and the importance and value of his own property therein, was a freeholder of nine tenements in Chapel Street.


COPPOCKS
SHOE
WAREHOUSE



ST. NICHOLAS' CHURCH AND ST. GEORGE'S BASIN, ABOUT 1824. *From an engraving by H. Meyer, in the possession of the publishers.*

THIS engraving is of great interest, and a comparison with the neighbourhood of the present day will exhibit the great changes that have taken place in the locality.

The church of St. Nicholas is mentioned in a document about the middle of the fourteenth century, when permission was obtained from the Bishop of Lichfield to form a cemetery round the church. Trees grew close to the church in the early days, and there exists a French print as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century, which shows trees growing in the close neighbourhood. Blome, writing in 1673, states there was a free school near the church, adding, "at the West End thereof next the river, stood the Statue of St. Nicholas, long since defaced and gone." St. Nicholas is the patron saint of mariners. In 1746 a spire was built upon the old tower, and in 1774 the body of the church was rebuilt. On February 11, 1810, the spire fell and crashed into the church together with the peal of bells, one of which weighed over 15 cwt. This spire will be seen on plate xxv.

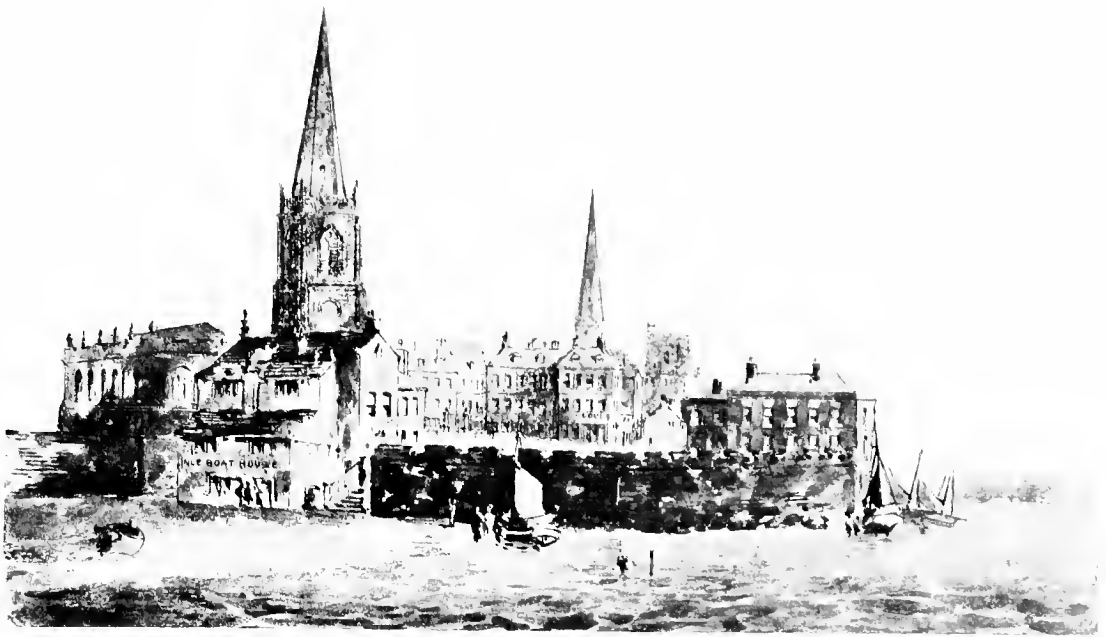
The present engraving represents the new tower and lantern erected in 1815 at a cost of £22,000. It has a peal of twelve bells, all but one of which bear interesting inscriptions.

ST. NICHOLAS' CHURCH AND BATTERY, 1749. *From a drawing by W. G. Herdman, in the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

MR. HERDMAN made this drawing from an older one by J. Butler, and it is important because it shows St. Nicholas' church before the fall of the spire. The new tower and lantern which replaced it are figured on plate XXIV. The fall of the spire occurred on Sunday, February 11, 1810, whilst the bells were ringing, and the congregation assembling for divine worship, and the debris buried those who had already entered the church. Unfortunately the children of Moorfields' Charity School had partly entered the church. The boys being last had not entered and all escaped, but twenty-four little girls were killed, and four badly injured. Singularly enough the men who were in the tower ringing the bells all escaped, except one man and a boy who were buried, but both were extricated alive, although the boy expired soon after.

In the year 1759 a French ship, commanded by Thurot of Brest, committed many depredations, and the men of Liverpool, fearing an attack by his or other French ships, determined to be in a position to defend the town, and built the battery, which they armed with fourteen good guns, close to the church.

Whether Thurot had designs on Liverpool will probably never be known, for on February 28, 1760, his squadron was found in the neighbourhood of the Isle of Man by some English frigates under the command of Captain Elliott, and after a desperate fight Captain Thurot was killed and nearly 300 of his officers and men were taken, wounded or killed; and the French frigates were brought safely to harbour as prizes of war.


BOAT HOUSE



LIVERPOOL PRIVATEER. *From the painting by Serres about 1780, in the possession of Messrs. Rankin, Gilmour and Co. Ltd.*

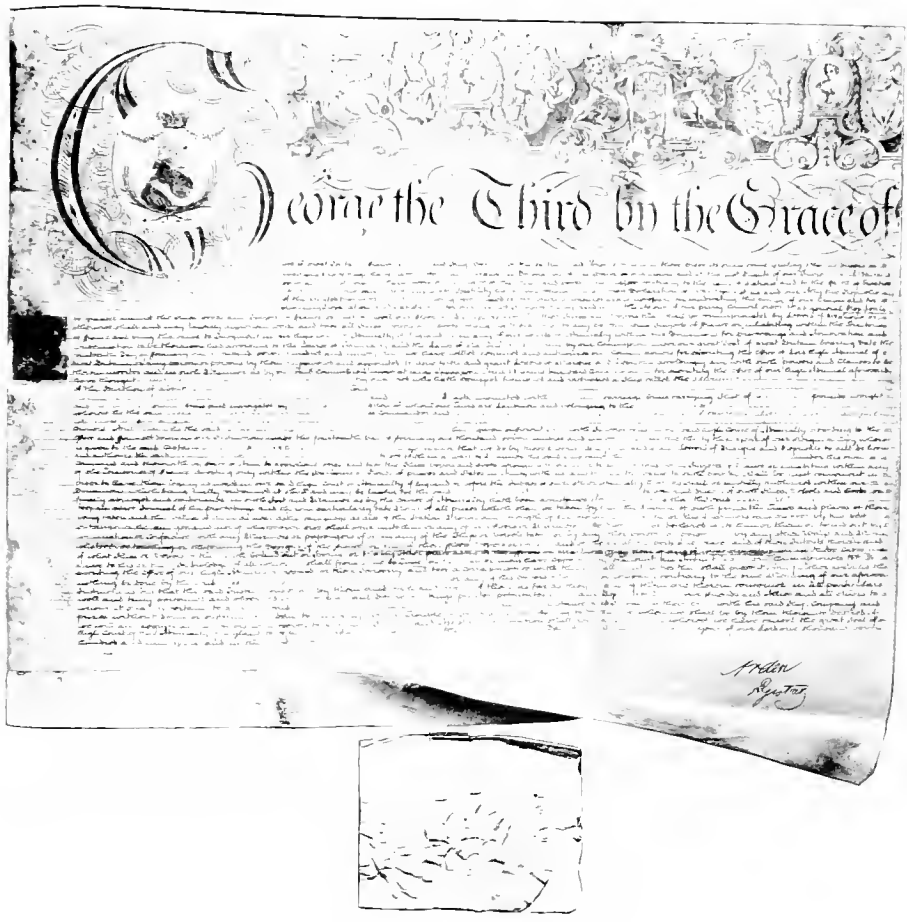
A PRIVATEER was a vessel belonging to a private individual or company who received a commission from the Admiralty, conveyed in a document known as a Letter of Marque, authorizing the captain of the vessel to "apprehend, seize, and take the ships, vessels, and goods" of the nation or nations with which Great Britain was at war. (See p. 28.) Liverpool vessels took a very active part in this form of adventure and profit, during our wars with France and America, and their financial success was accompanied with unpleasant results for the townsmen generally, because it attracted to the town a type of nautical desperado which the old and feeble watchmen, who did duty for police, were unable to control.

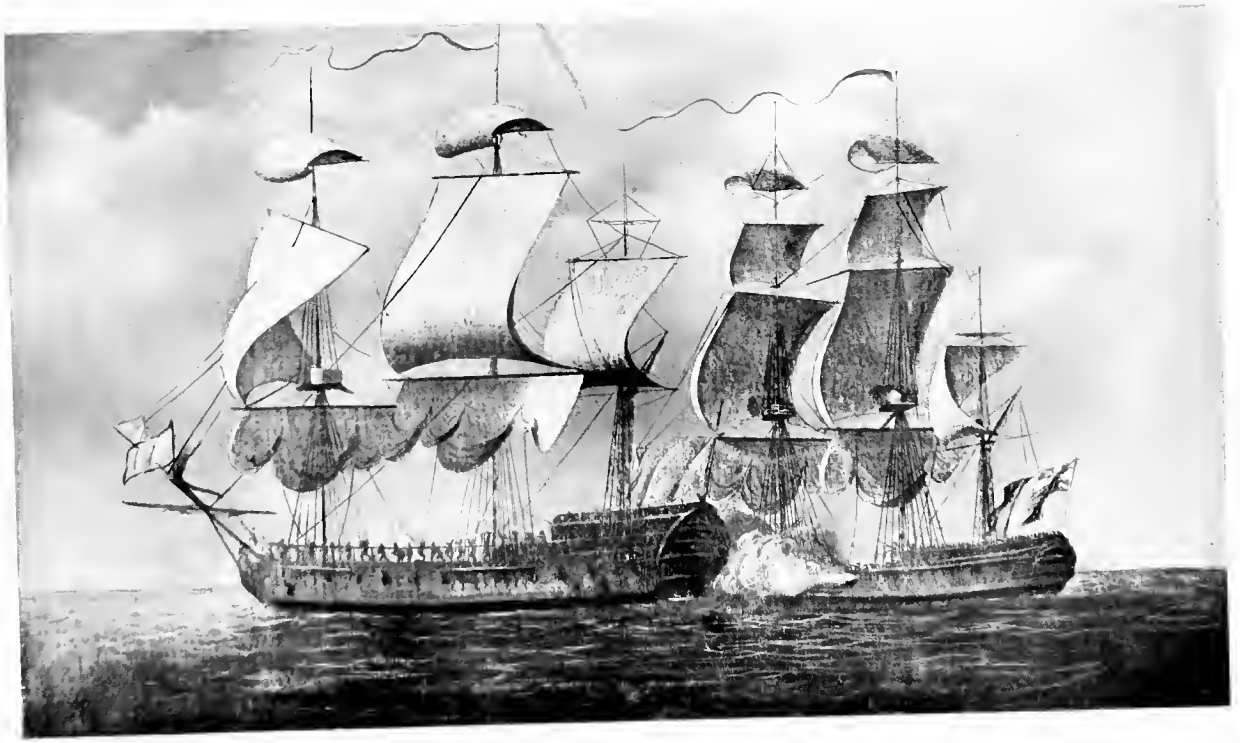
The name of the vessel in this picture is unknown, but she represents one of the best types of eighteenth-century privateer, and is shown preparing to anchor in the river directly opposite the town.

LETTER OF MARQUE. *From the original in the possession of Messrs. D. and C. MacIver, Liverpool.*

A LETTER OF MARQUE (literally anglicized from the French Lettre de Marque) was a licence to plunder, issued by the Admiralty, in the name of the Sovereign, to the captain of a vessel, authorizing him to seize the vessels and goods belonging to the subjects of the nation or nations with whom this country was at war, and commanding him to bring his captures into any convenient English port in order that they might be judged by the Court of Admiralty. The document here reproduced was granted to Captain John MacIver, of the Liverpool brig "Swallow," 256 tons, carrying 18 six-pounder guns and 35 men, on July 12, 1796. Captain John MacIver was an uncle of David MacIver, one of the founders of the Cunard Line, and of the late Charles MacIver, who, after the death of his brother David, was the principal owner and director of its destinies.

Letters of marque were abolished among European nations at the Treaty of Paris, 1856, when privateering was discontinued.


George the Third by the Grace of



LIVERPOOL PRIVATEER. *The fight between the "Mentor" and the "Carnatic." From the painting in the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

NONE of the daring deeds performed by the Liverpool privateers were so handsomely rewarded with plunder as the action between the "Mentor" of 400 tons burthen, 28 guns, and 102 men, commanded by Capt. John Dawson, and the French East-Indiaman, "Carnatic." The "Carnatic" was outfought and captured on October 28, 1779, and is said to have been "the richest prize ever taken and brought safe into port by a Liverpool privateer." The value of the ship and cargo is stated to have been £135,000, which large sum was mainly due to a box of diamonds discovered on board after arrival in the Mersey. With part of the proceeds of this plunder the captain and his owner (now in partnership) bought the Mossley Hill Estate, and erected thereon a mansion, which was nicknamed at the time "Carnatic" Hall—a name which became attached to it and which has long since been its real name.

The original building was destroyed by fire about twenty years ago, and the present mansion was erected by Walter Holland, Esq., who resides there.

The chiefest heroes among the Liverpool privateers were undoubtedly Capt. Fortunatus Wright (died 1757), and his whilom mate, Capt. William Hutchinson (died 1801). Wright was one of the cleverest and most intrepid adventurers that ever preyed on an enemy's shipping, and a very full account of his acts of violence will be found in Mr. Gomer Williams' "The Liverpool Privateers." Capt. Hutchinson was no less daring than his former master, but he was cleverer. He developed the appointments of a privateer vessel, and the discipline and training of its crew, the mode of attack and defence, and the convoy of the prize, to an exact science ; and he wrote a book entitled "A Treatise on Practical Seamanship," 1777, in which he gave full instructions on those most important points for the education and guidance of the budding adventurer.

Eighteenth-century Liverpool was proud of such men as these, and saw nothing unworthy in partaking of the spoils which these desperadoes brought home.

OLD CUSTOM HOUSE AND CASTLE. *From a drawing by W. G. Herdman, in the possession of Messrs. Rankin, Gilmour and Co., Ltd.*

MR. HERDMAN states that he made this drawing from a rare etching by Daniel King, dated 1780, which is preserved in the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum.

The drawing is of great interest, because it shows the river-front, the Castle, and a part of the tower on the left side of the picture. The building with the door in the centre, before which a cart is standing, is Liverpool's third Custom House. The first Custom House was a thatched building in High Street, and the second was situated in Moor Street. The house adjoining the Custom House was at one period the residence of Captain Dawson, who captured the "Carnatic"—the rich East-Indiaman—and whose exploit is described on page 29, his ship being shown on Plate XXVIII.





A VIEW OF THE TOWN AND HARBOUR OF LIVERPOOL. *Drawn by H. F. James, engraved by W. J. Bennett. In the possession of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board.*

THIS fine, large, and scarce coloured engraving was published by H. F. James in Manchester, in October 1817. He describes it as "A View of the Town and Harbour of Liverpool, taken from a North-West Station on Seacomb (*sic*) Common. Begun in 1810, impeded in its progress by the fall of St. Nicholas' Steeple."

ST. NICHOLAS' CHURCH AND TOWER BUILDINGS. *From a drawing by W. G. Herdman, in the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

ST. NICHOLAS' CHURCH will be found described elsewhere. Tower Buildings, which have recently been taken down and rebuilt, stood on the site of the Tower, near the bottom of Water Street. In excavating for the foundation, stones of the old tower were found.

The building was designed by Sir James Picton, to whom Liverpool is under a deep debt of gratitude, for he gave much of his time and a great deal of well-directed energy to the town's service. There was scarcely a side of life that did not interest him, and he put a monument up to himself in the foundation and extension of our Free Public Reference Library, realizing at an early date that important books should be possessed even if rarely referred to. The result of his labour, in conjunction with that of Sir William Forwood and the late Mr. Peter Cowell, has been a library, broad based, and filled with reference books in almost every department of knowledge, which it would be difficult to match outside London or Oxford. His "Memorials of Liverpool" is still one of the best histories of the town, and generally speaking is most accurate and painstaking. He was born in 1805, was knighted in 1881, and finished his long, useful, laborious, and happy life in 1889.





MANN ISLAND. *From a drawing by W. Herdman, in the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

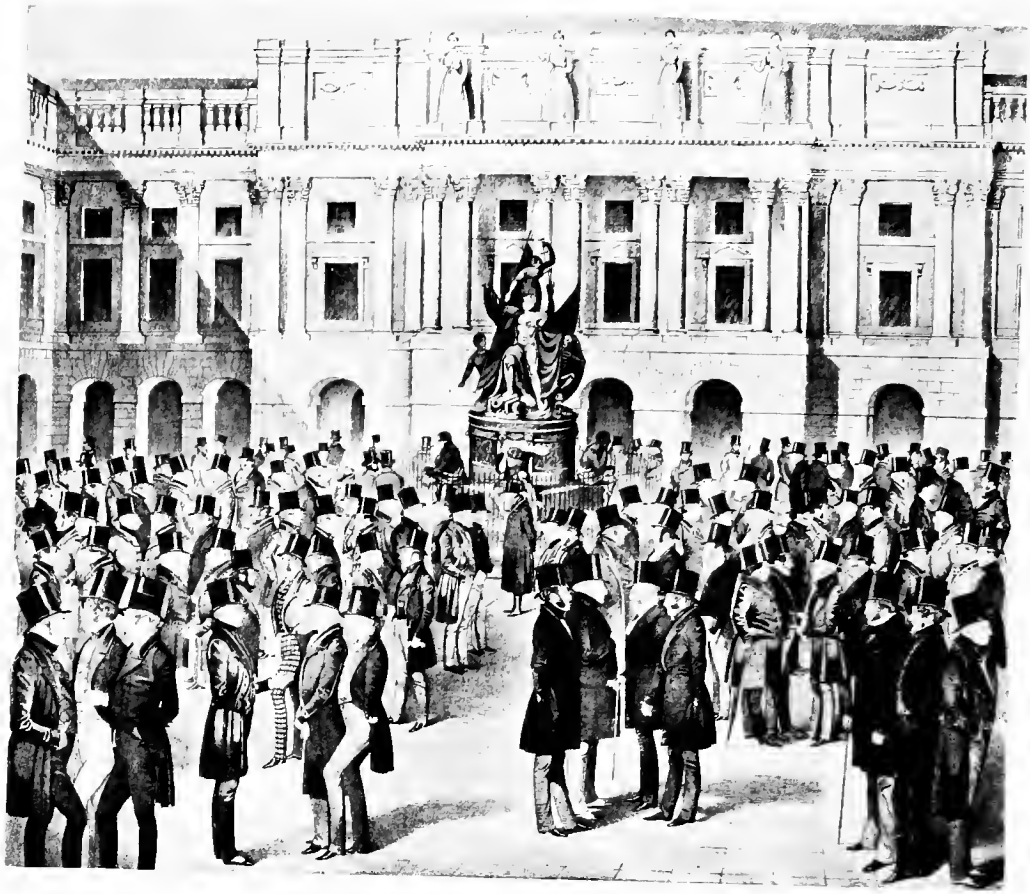
MANY Liverpool residents will recollect Mann Island and Nova Scotia as it is depicted by the artist who made this drawing in 1858. The property was old when the Dock Board purchased it in 1851 for the then large sum of £112,584. This Dock Board must not be confused with the present Mersey Docks and Harbour Board, for that corporate body did not come into existence until 1857. Prior to that time the docks and works in connexion with them were controlled by a Dock Committee whose proceedings were under the control of the Liverpool Town Council in meeting assembled, as Trustees of the Liverpool docks. The docks on the Birkenhead side were owned by the Birkenhead Dock Company until 1855 or 1856, when being unable to work them profitably they were purchased by the Corporation of Liverpool. The whole of the docks on both sides of the Mersey were afterwards taken over by the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board by virtue of an Act of Parliament passed in the year 1857. The first meeting of the new board took place on January 5, 1858, and since they have erected their new and handsome offices in the close neighbourhood of Mann Island the district has entirely altered its character. Other handsome buildings are in progress, and Liverpool is to have a frontage which will be a great contrast to the poor, old, and shabby buildings which formerly greeted the eye on arrival at the Landing Stage.

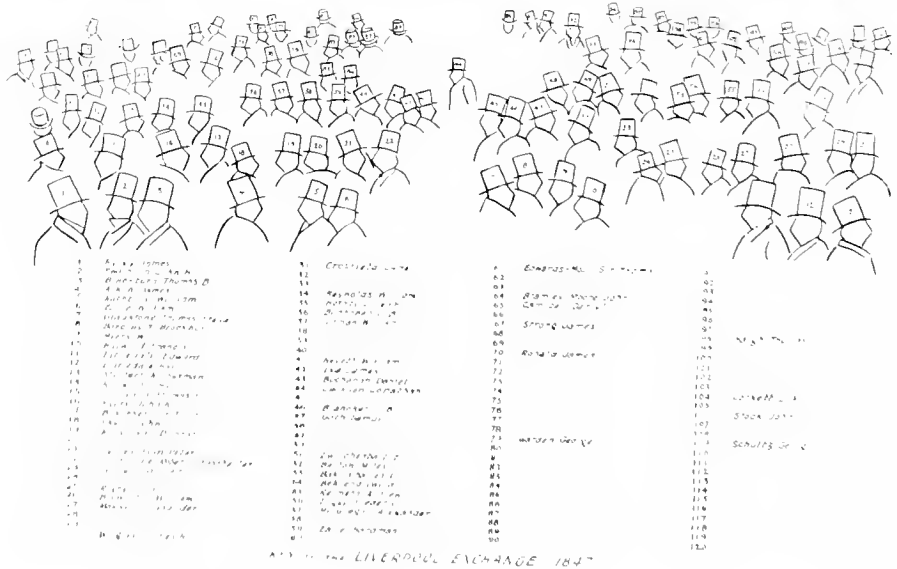
JAMES STREET. *From a drawing by W. G. Herdman, in the possession of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board.*

SIR EDWARD MOORE, at one time the largest property owner in Liverpool, whose inventory of the property contains so much precious and racy history, the original manuscript of which was lately bequeathed to the Corporation of Liverpool and is now in the Free Public Library, was not given to singing the praises of the men whom he knew; so we may take it that Roger James was all and something more than he describes, when he writes him down as "a very honest man, and a good woman to [for] his wife." W. Fergusson Irvine has an interesting note on the origin of the name of the street in "Liverpool in Charles the Second's Time." He says, "This Roger James was a man who prospered with the town, and subsequently built premises in Moor Street, and then in a new street backing to Moor Street, and which was eventually called after his name; and James Street is with us to this day, though very different from the day when Roger James knew it."

Herdman worked from a drawing dated 1822, which shows the old houses and the fish market, which latter was not taken down until 1839.







Key to the LIVERPOOL EXCHANGE 1847

LIVERPOOL EXCHANGE, 1847. *Painted and lithographed by Richard Dighton. In the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

AT an early date the Town Hall was a mercantile Exchange, though business men seem to have preferred to assemble in the open air, in front of the hall, where the bulk of the business was transacted. But the traffic in Castle Street and Dale Street grew with the increasing trade of the port, so that business was subject to interruption, and it was decided to erect a new Exchange. Enfield states that in the year 1753 there were 3700 houses and 20,000 inhabitants, and that in 1760 there were 4200 houses and about 25,000 inhabitants, so that in seven years there was an increase of 500 houses and 5,000 inhabitants, a striking proof of the growing importance of Liverpool. In April 1801 a sum of £80,000 was subscribed in a few hours for a new Exchange, the foundation stone being laid June 30, 1803, and the building opened to the public on March 1, 1808. But the trade quickly outgrew the scope of the new building; a new company was formed, the old building was taken down, and the present Exchange building erected, with Mr. T. M. Wyatt as architect, at a cost of £220,000, the new company having been formed in 1862.

The engraving shows the old Exchange building before the Lord Nelson monument had been removed to its present position, and when the great cotton business was transacted there. Since the removal of the cotton business to a separate Exchange, the "flags" have lost much of the animation they possessed during the morning or afternoon when the cotton market was excited.

THE CORN EXCHANGE, BRUNSWICK STREET. *Drawn by G. and C. Pyne about* 1827, *engraved by T. Dixon. In the possession of the publishers.*

PREVIOUS to the year 1807 the corn merchants of Liverpool transacted their business in the open space in front of the Town Hall, but in this year they decided to erect an Exchange of their own, and the building was erected by J. Foster senior, at a cost of £10,000 in shares of £100 each.

Liverpool from an early date has always been a considerable corn centre, and it is interesting to note that in 1809, the first year after the opening of the Corn Exchange, the quantity of wheat imported was 114,000 quarters; oats 460,000 quarters; flour 13,000 bags and 170,000 barrels. In 1912 the figures were—wheat 5,813,187 quarters; oats 599,603 quarters; flour 407,285 sacks; maize 1,756,712 quarters; beans 115,881 quarters; barley 244,515 quarters; peas 106,506 quarters; oatmeal 89,073 loads—figures which show the great stride the trade has made in the century.

Brunswick Street was opened in 1790, and made a new approach to the river between Moor Street and Water Street. When Brunswick Street was made, it cut through a portion of the old Theatre in Drury Lane, to which was attached a famous bar; and a writer of the period calls particular attention to the excellence of its cakes and ale, stating "a young woman attends to accommodate the company with such refreshments as they require, on very moderate terms."





THE PADDLE STEAMER "ROYAL WILLIAM," ON HER FIRST VOYAGE FROM LIVERPOOL TO NEW YORK, 1838. *Painted by Samuel Walters, drawn on stone by T. Fairland. From a print in the possession of Messrs. C. W. Kellock and Co., Liverpool.*

THIS vessel was the first passenger steamer to cross the Atlantic Ocean from Liverpool under continuous steam, and she is said to have been the first ship divided into water-tight compartments. She left Liverpool on her first voyage on July 5, 1838, and arrived at New York after a passage of nineteen days, with thirty-two passengers. Her return was accomplished in fourteen and a half days, leaving New York on August 4, 1838, and casting anchor in the Mersey on August 19, 1838. She was built at Liverpool by Messrs. W. and J. Wilson in 1836, for the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company, from whom she was chartered for this voyage by the newly formed Transatlantic Steamship Company. Her dimensions were—length 175 feet, beam 27 feet, depth 17½ feet, tonnage 817; accommodation for eighty passengers. Her engines were built by Messrs. Fawcett and Preston of Liverpool, and were of 276 horse-power, giving a speed of 11½ knots per hour, on a consumption of seventeen tons of coal per day. After many years of service this vessel became a coal-hulk, and in the year 1888 was sold for £11. She is shown in the illustration making her first voyage from Liverpool.

Four other steam vessels had crossed the Atlantic before her; the first two from America to England, and the second pair from England to America. The first steamboat to cross was the "Savannah," from Savannah to Liverpool, 1819, but she only used her steam power for a portion of the voyage, relying mainly upon her sails; the second was the "Royal William" (a Canadian vessel, not to be confused with the subject of our illustration), from Quebec to London, 1833; the third was the "Sirius," from London to New York, March 28, 1838; and the fourth was the "Great Western," from Bristol to New York, April 7, 1838.

THE PADDLE STEAMER "LIVERPOOL." *Painted by S. Walters, drawn on stone by T. Fairland. From a print in the possession of Messrs. C. W. Kellock and Co., Liverpool.*

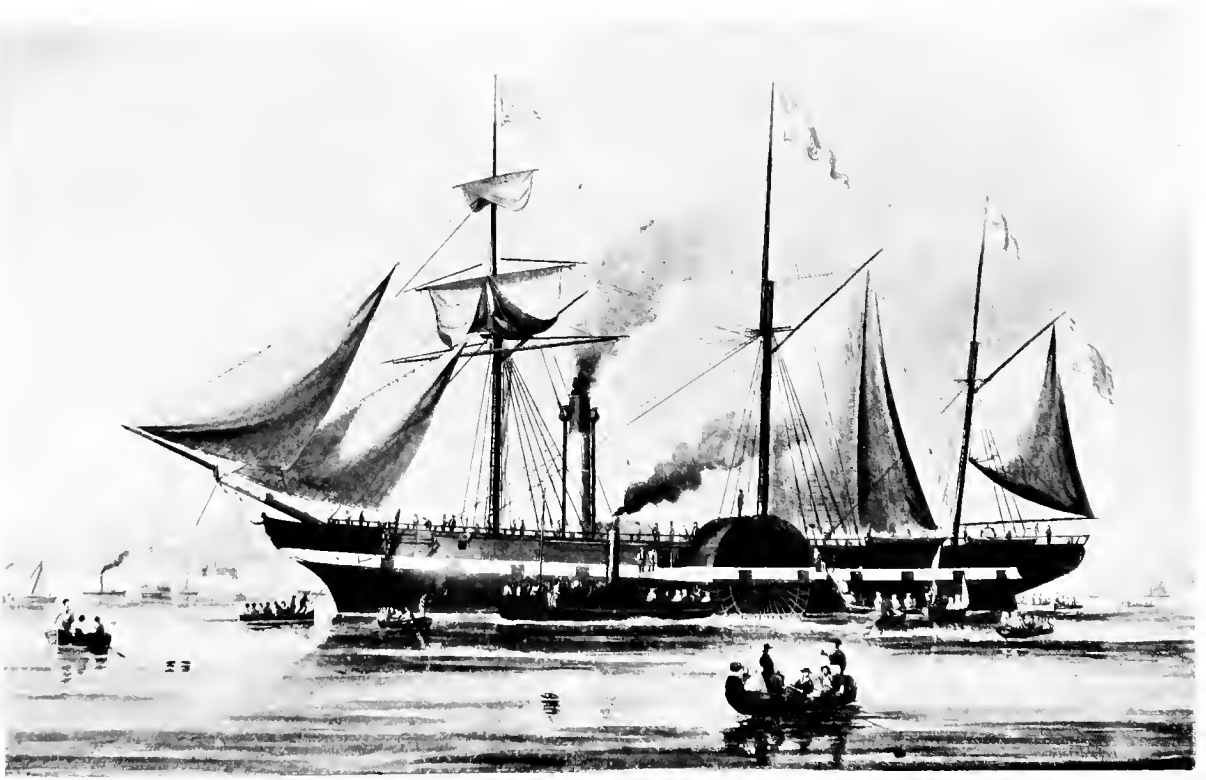
THIS was the second passenger steamship to cross the Atlantic Ocean from Liverpool, steaming all the way. She left Liverpool on her first voyage on October 20, 1838; put back to Queenstown, owing to heavy weather, after having performed nearly a third of her voyage; sailed thence November 6, and reached New York on November 23, 1838, after sixteen and a half days' steaming. She was built at Liverpool by Messrs. Humble and Milcrest for Sir John Tobin, who sold her to the Transatlantic Steamship Company as soon as she was finished. Her dimensions were—length 240 feet, beam 35 feet, depth 21 feet, tonnage 1150. Her engines were built by Messrs. George Forrester and Co., of Liverpool, and were of 464 horse-power, giving a speed of ten knots per hour.

This vessel was the first steamship specially built and fitted up for the transatlantic service, and after making several voyages to New York and back, averaging seventeen days out and fifteen days home, she was sold to the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, who lengthened her, thereby increasing her tonnage to 1543, changed her name to the "Great Liverpool," and put her on their mail service between Southampton and Alexandria. She was wrecked off Cape Finisterre in the month of February 1846, with the loss of two lives.

It was on board this vessel, when she was in the New York trade, that Mr. Samuel Cunard came to Liverpool from Halifax, Nova Scotia, to commence business as a shipowner in Liverpool.

The illustration shows the vessel making her first voyage from Liverpool to New York.





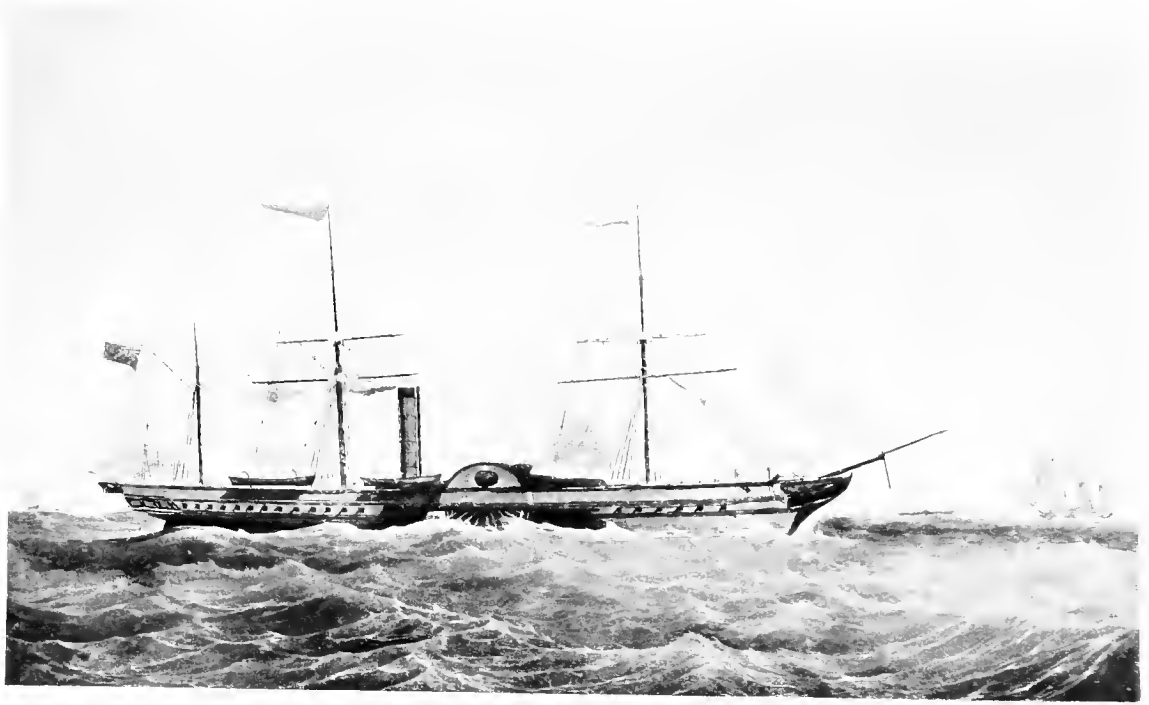
THE PADDLE STEAMER "PRESIDENT." *Painted by S. Walters, engraved by R. G. and A. W. Reeve. From a print in the possession of Messrs. C. W. Kellock and Co., Liverpool.*

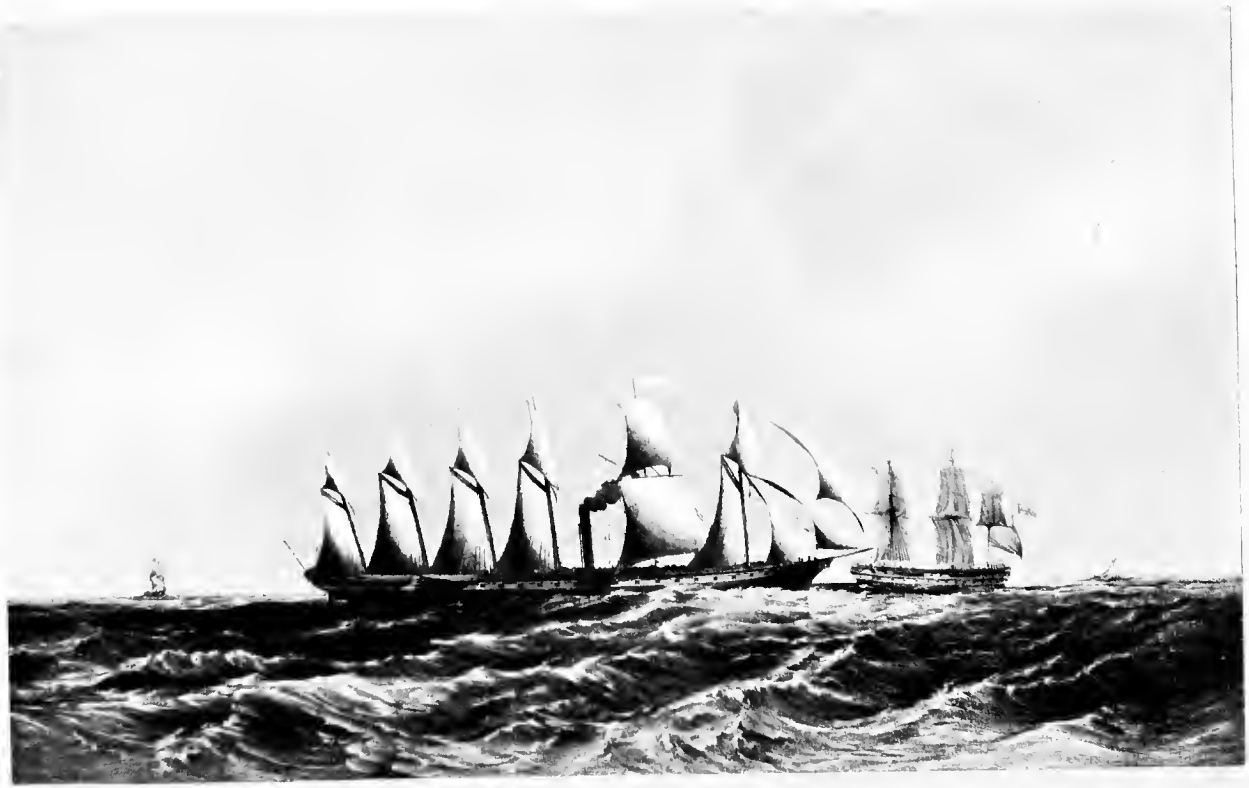
THIS ill-fated vessel was built on the Thames by Messrs. Curling and Young, in the year 1840, for the British and American Steam Navigation Company, of Bristol. She was the largest and most powerful steamship of her day, her tonnage being 2360, and the indicated horse-power of her engines (built at Liverpool by Messrs. Fawcett and Preston) was 540. She sailed from Liverpool on her first voyage on August 1, 1840, and arrived at New York on August 17, 1840. On her third homeward voyage she left New York on March 12, 1841, with 136 passengers, and was never heard of again. Her loss constituted the first great disaster in the transatlantic steamship trade. The picture represents her at anchor in the Mersey.

THE PADDLE STEAMER "BRITANNIA." *Painted by W. J. Huggins, engraved by E. Duncan. From a print in the possession of the publishers.*

THIS famous vessel was the first Cunard liner. She was built by Messrs. Robert Duncan and Co., at Port Glasgow, for the British and North American Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, soon afterwards known as the Cunard Line, and was launched on February 5, 1840. Her dimensions were—length 270 feet, beam 34 feet, depth 22½ feet, tonnage 1150. Her engines were designed and built by Mr. Robert Napier, of Glasgow, and her indicated horse-power was 740, giving an average speed of 9 knots per hour on a consumption of 38 tons of coal per day.

She left Liverpool on her first voyage on July 4, 1840, and reached Boston, U.S.A. on July 19, 1840, her passage occupying fourteen and a half days. Under contract with the British Government she carried the mails from England to America, and was required to be of sufficient strength and capacity to be used as a troopship in case of necessity, and also to receive a proper armament of guns for her own protection and for the protection of British commerce on the seas. The vessel took part in the first ocean race between British and American steamships. In the year 1847 the "Britannia" and the "Washington"—a new American ship, much longer and more powerful than the "Britannia"—left New York on the same day, the former for Liverpool, and the latter for Southampton. The "Britannia' won by two days.





THE SCREW STEAMSHIP "GREAT BRITAIN." *Painted by Joseph Walter, drawn on stone by G. Hawkins. From a print in the possession of the publishers.*

WITH this vessel a new era in shipbuilding and marine engineering began. She was the first large vessel built of iron, and also the first one to use the screw propeller instead of paddles. She was designed by Mr. Patterson, the designer of the famous Bristol steamship "Great Western," and was constructed by Mr. Thomas R. Guppy, C.E., at the works of the Great Western Steamship Company of Bristol. Her dimensions were—length, 322 feet, beam 50½ feet, depth 32½ feet, tonnage 2984. Her engines were 1000 horse-power, the diameter of her six-bladed propeller was 16 feet, and her speed was 12 knots per hour.

Although launched in July 1843 she was not ready for sea until December 1844, owing to the weight of her machinery and fittings immersing her in the dock to such a depth as to make it impossible for her to pass out.

She left Liverpool on her first voyage on July 26, 1845, with forty-five passengers, and arrived at New York on August 10, 1845. Her last voyage as an Atlantic liner was in the year 1852, when she accomplished the homeward journey from New York in 10 days 23 hours. She was then transferred to the Australian trade, and was the first large steam vessel to perform that voyage. She left Liverpool on her first voyage to Australia on August 21, 1852, with 600 passengers, and reached Melbourne on November 10, 1852, her average speed from the Cape of Good Hope being 284 miles per day.

Originally, this vessel carried six masts, as shown in the engraving. When she entered the Australian trade the number was reduced to four ; and in the year 1882 her engines were taken out, another mast was removed, and she was converted into a full-rigged sailing-ship. The last voyage of this famous, but not always fortunate, ship was commenced at Liverpool in the year 1886, and during it she put into the Falkland Islands much damaged by heavy weather, and was abandoned by the underwriters as a constructive total loss. She was then sold to the Falkland Islands Company, and is still afloat and in use as a coal-hulk at Port Stanley, Falkland Islands.

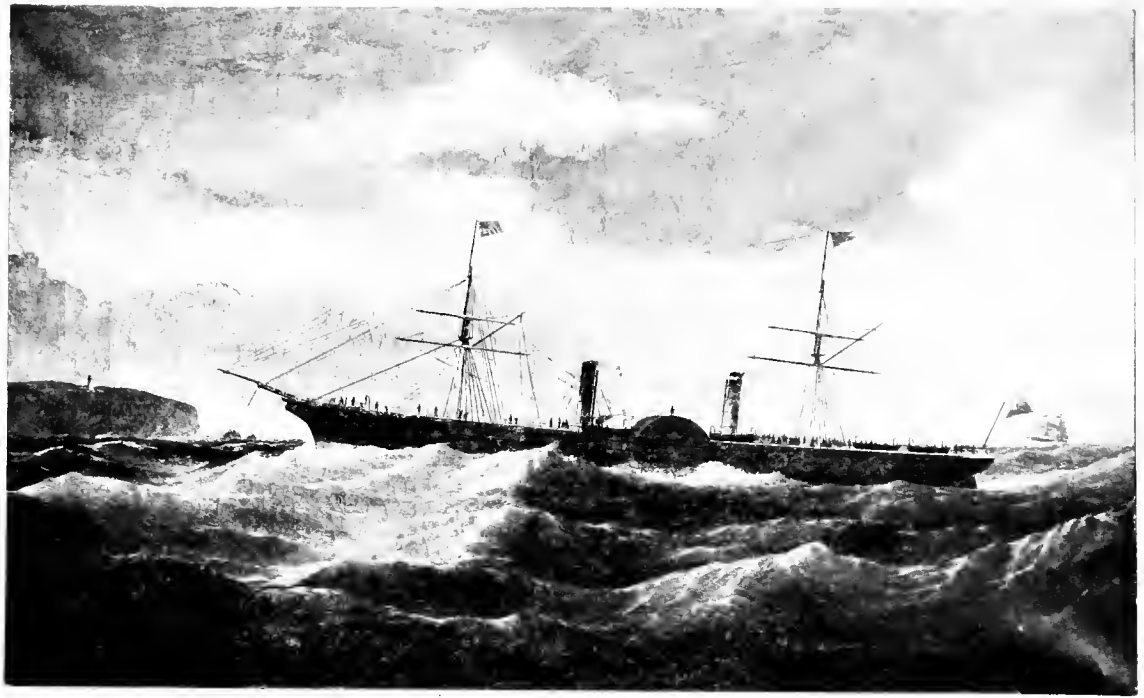
Her owners were, first, the Great Western Steamship Company of Bristol ; secondly, the Liverpool and Australian Steam Navigation Company (Messrs. Gibbs, Bright and Co., of Liverpool, managers) ; thirdly, Messrs. Anthony Gibbs, Sons and Co., of London ; and lastly, the Falkland Islands Company.

THE PADDLE STEAMER "SCOTIA." *From the oil painting in the possession of Messrs. D. and C. MacIver, Liverpool.*

ON account of her speed, accommodation, and steadiness, this vessel was a great favourite with Atlantic passengers; and she has the distinction of marking the end of the era of the ocean-going paddle steamer, because she was the last of that type of steamship built for the Cunard Company, and probably the last ocean-going paddle steamer built for any company. The screw steamship had, long before this time, become practically universal, and the only reason why the "Scotia," and her elder sister the "Persia," were not constructed as screw steamers, was that the British Government could not be induced to believe that the screw was as reliable as the paddle for carrying the mails.

The "Scotia" was the first Atlantic "greyhound," although that simile was not applied to steamships until a much later date, and she carried on an express service between Liverpool and New York, at a higher rate of passage money than was charged for the other boats. She was also the first vessel to cross the Atlantic Ocean in less than nine days, the first time being in the year 1863, when she crossed eastwards in 8 days 3 hours; and in 1864 she accomplished the westward trip in 8 days 16 hours. She was built and engined at Glasgow by Messrs. Robert Napier and Sons in the year 1862, and her dimensions were—length 366 feet, beam 47½ feet, depth 33 feet, tonnage 4050; speed 13½ knots per hour, on a consumption of 160 tons of coal per day.

In the year 1878 she was sold to the Telegraph Construction and Maintenance Company, by whom she was converted into a twin-screw steamer, and after twenty-six years of useful work in the service of her new owners she was wrecked off Guam, in the Philippine Islands, in March 1904.





THE SCREW STEAMSHIP "OCEANIC." *From the oil painting by W. L. Wyllie, A.R.A., in the possession of the White Star Line, Liverpool.*

LORD MACAULAY once observed that "those projects which abridge distance have done most for the civilization and happiness of our species," and certainly if this be true, then the founders of the great steamship companies, who have done so much to abridge the distance between the nations of the world, can congratulate themselves on having contributed to the happiness of mankind.

The White Star Line was founded in 1870, under the title of the Oceanic Steam Navigation Company, and the first ship of the line was the "Oceanic," of which we are able to give a spirited illustration. She was launched on August 27, 1870, and was regarded with wonder and astonishment when she arrived in the Mersey on February 26, 1871, for in many ways she marked a new era in the construction of iron steamships. At the very outset Mr. T. H. Ismay, and the gentlemen associated with him, had proceeded on original lines, and had given Messrs. Harland and Wolff of Belfast an order to construct the vessel regardless of cost, an arrangement being made for the builders to receive a certain percentage on the cost price. The Oceanic was 3807 tons burthen, and possessed engines of 3500 horse-power. Steam was applied to perform the smallest as well as the largest work, and in many other ways she marked an era in steamship construction, for the saloon was placed amidships, and she had watertight and fireproof bulkheads. Some people shook their heads, and regarded the vessel as a doubtful experiment ; but everywhere she was regarded with interest, especially after she had performed the voyage between Queenstown and New York in eight days and a half. So carefully had the owners and builders thought out and constructed the vessel that she was a great success, and was followed at intervals by sister ships, each marking a great advance in design, engineering, luxury, comfort, and speed.

CASTLE DITCH, EAST SIDE, 1756. *From a drawing by W. G. Herdman, in the possession of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board.*

MR. HERDMAN made this and the following drawing from earlier ones, dated 1756.

Castle Ditch was an extremely narrow lane, about four yards wide, running from Castle Street to Pool Lane (South Castle Street) across the tops of Harrington Street, Lord Street, and Cable Street. In this plate the spectator is looking towards the entrance of those streets, and the middle one of the three is Lord Street. On the opposite side of Castle Ditch there was a sort of island of closely packed houses, lying between the top of Lord Street and St. George's Church, where the Queen Victoria Memorial now stands. This group of buildings is shown in the next plate.

It is convenient here to speak of Preeson's Row—a row of houses named after Alderman Preeson, and probably built by him. It lay on the west side of the Castle, that is the opposite side to Castle Ditch, and in it was a house on which was inscribed

A
E I
GODS : PROVIDENC :
HATH : BEENE : MY :
INHERITANC : 1660.

The original house is not there now, but the stone bearing the inscription is built into the house which replaced it.

Mr. W. Fergusson Irvine considers it probable that the house was built by Edward Alcock, a mercer and bailiff's peer, and states: "The stone has at least this distinction, that with the exception of the boulder in Castle Street, marking the south-west boundary of the Liverpool Fair, it is probably the oldest identifiable fragment now left in the whole of the ancient township of Liverpool."





CASTLE DITCH, WEST SIDE, 1756. *From a drawing by W. G. Herdman, in the possession of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Boara.*

WE are here looking from the top of Lord Street towards the river, and therefore we are facing the west side of Castle Ditch. It is apparent that the houses closed all direct communication between Lord Street and the river, and it is equally clear that their removal was necessary in order that another main artery for the increasing commerce of the town might be provided. The spire seen behind the houses is that of St. George's Church, which stood where the Queen Victoria Memorial now is. The opening on the right of the picture is Castle Street, and the one on the left is Pool Lane, or South Castle Street. Castle Ditch was very narrow, as stated previously, but the exaggerated foreground in both this and the previous picture scarcely conveys that impression.

ST. GEORGE'S CRESCENT. *From a drawing by G. and C. Pyne about* 1830, *in the Mayer Papers, Liverpool Free Public Library.*

ON November 2, 1825, just forty years after the date of the first Improvement Act of 1785, the Council resolved to apply for an Act for opening and widening Lord Street, Castle Ditch, Pool Lane, and other places, where the houses were old and had become dilapidated, whilst the streets were very narrow and unsuitable for the growing commerce and population of the town. The Act having been obtained, the houses of the Castle Ditch, opposite to St. George's Church, were demolished, and the building of St. George's Crescent was commenced in May of 1827. The appearance of the town was greatly improved by the erection of these handsome buildings, and the great improvement will be noticed by referring to Plate XLIII. These very necessary improvements cost the town the large sum of £170,000. But it was money well spent, and a writer of the period says, "We congratulate the Town and Corporation of Liverpool on the happy issue of their recent exertions for its improvement, which have invested it with a grandeur and magnificence that will enable it to contest the palm of enterprise with the Metropolis itself."





LORD STREET, NORTH SIDE. *From a drawing by W. G. Herdman, in the possession of Messrs. Rankin, Gilmour and Co., Ltd.*

IT was in 1668 that Caryl, Lord Molyneux, cut a road through the Castle orchard to enable his tenants to gain access to the Great Heath. His scheme was opposed by the Liverpool Corporation, and Professor Ramsay Muir in his interesting "History of Liverpool" states: "When his servants began to build a bridge at the busy junction of our day where Lord Street joins Church Street, they were met by forcible resistance; the Mayor pulled the bridge down and confiscated the wood and stones. Lord Molyneux responded by a whole series of actions-at-law, in which the question of the right of ownership of the waste, as well as many other questions were raised." However, in the end a compromise was effected, and Lord Molyneux Street, or Lord's Lane, as it was first called, became a thoroughfare. Afterwards it was called Molyneux's Lane, but as the traffic along it increased, and shops were erected on either side, the lane was paved, then lighted, and the importance of the thoroughfare established by the bestowal of the present name of Lord Street. The Molyneux family occupied a house on the north side of the street, and in 1781 William Roscoe resided with his father at 51 Lord Street. It also possessed two famous inns, the Castle Hotel and the Brown Cow Tavern. Perhaps it was at one of these inns that Samuel Derrick dined, for he writes in 1760: "There are at Liverpool three good inns. For tenpence a man dines elegantly at an ordinary consisting of ten, or a dozen dishes." In 1811 Egerton Smith established the *Liverpool Mercury*, then a weekly paper, and in 1827 the office was at 76 Lord Street. The original width of the street was about that of the present Cable Street, but in the year 1826 it was widened at a cost of about £170,000.

The view shows the street as it was in 1798, between Doran's Lane and Whitechapel.

LORD STREET, SOUTH SIDE. *From a drawing by W. G. Herdman, in the possession of Messrs. Rankin, Gilmour and Co., Ltd.*

LORD STREET is described on the previous page. This drawing shows the houses on the opposite side of the street looking towards Church Street. It also shows the Brown Cow Tavern alluded to in the description of that Plate, and the old water-cart from which water was retailed from house to house at as much as ninepence per butt. Late in the seventeenth century there was a ferry-boat at the bottom of Lord Street and another at the bottom of Sir Thomas's Buildings for the purpose of conveying passengers over the water, which then flowed from the pool along Paradise Street, Whitechapel, to the Old Haymarket. The view shows the street as it appeared towards the end of the eighteenth century.

Richard Brooke describing the street at that date says: "At that period Lord Street, formerly called Lord Molyneux Street, was an ill built and very narrow street especially on the north side, but contained several good houses inhabited by respectable families, some tolerably good shops and several taverns. There was not any direct road or communication from Lord Street to Dale Street through John Street, notwithstanding the Post Office was in John Street. The way, which afterwards existed, to the old Dock had not then been made through Marshall Street, Love Lane, and Trafford's Weint; all which were destroyed when South John Street, which was formed upon their sites, was laid out. Persons who had occasion to go from Lord Street to transact business at the Old Dock or the Custom House, were obliged to proceed thither by Paradise Street or Pool Lane."





ST. PETER'S CHURCH AND CHURCH STREET. *Drawn by W. H. Watts, engraved by W. Green. In the possession of Messrs. Rankin, Gilmour and Co., Ltd.*

IT is hard to realize at the present day that Church Street was at one period cut off from Lord Street by salt water; but such was the case, and until the Pool was closed in 1709, Church Street and the country beyond could only be reached by crossing over the Pool by the bridge, at the foot of Lord Street.

St. Peter's Church, erected in 1700, is our oldest existing public building. All its doorways are of different design, and that fact has given rise to the legend that when the plans were submitted to the Town Council, alternative designs for the doorways were suggested; and the Council, unable to choose between them, decided to use them all. Church Street remained unpaved until 1760, and was not flagged until 1816, although there were constant complaints of its muddy state, whilst one writer depicts it as a quagmire, for there was a cattle market held there once a week.

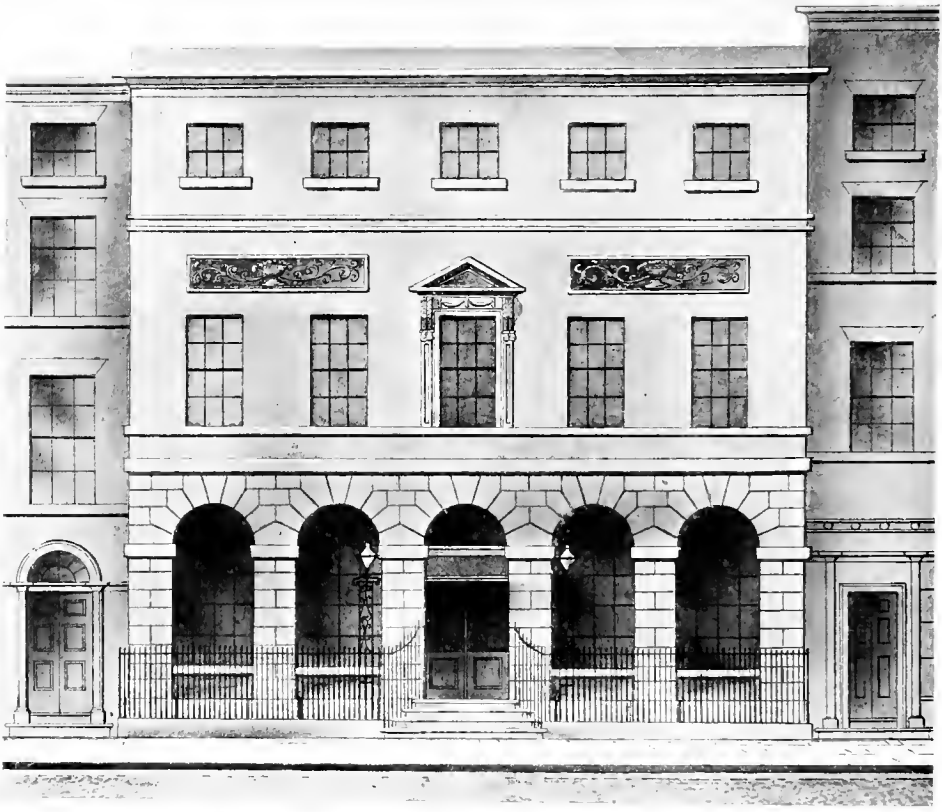
The first oratorio in Liverpool was performed in St. Peter's Church in 1766, the piece being "The Messiah." In 1880, the Rev. Canon J. C. Ryle, M.A., was consecrated the first Bishop of Liverpool, and his enthronement took place on July 1, the Church being designated the pro-Cathedral.

This view was made in the year 1800, and shows Church Street and Lord Street looking west.

THE DISPENSARY, CHURCH STREET. *From a drawing by W. G. Herdman, in the possession of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board.*

THIS drawing is based upon a drawing in the Foster Collection, made about the year 1798. The building in the centre of the picture is that of the Dispensary, which was established in 1778 in North John Street, and was opened in the interests of the poor of the parish. In 1779 the annual subscription was £117 12s., and the parish adding £105 made the annual income £222 12s. In the year 1782 the Dispensary was removed to Church Street, and stood close to the corner of Post Office Place, the building being designed by John Foster senior. Above the entrance porch there was a very pretty bas-relief tablet, representing the Good Samaritan, designed and carved by John Deare, a Liverpool sculptor of much promise. He was thrown into prison in Italy by the commandant of the French troops —who was said to be in love with his wife—where he died of a broken heart. The view shows the livery stables at the corner of Parker Street, the milk-house, and the tower of St. Peter's Church.





THE ATHENÆUM, CHURCH STREET. *From a drawing by James Brierley, in the possession of the Athenæum.*

UNFORTUNATELY there has never yet been published a good engraving of this important building, nor have the publishers been able to discover an interesting drawing. The one here reproduced is the best old one obtainable. Its date is 1830.

The Athenæum, ever since it was opened in 1799, has been a centre of literary activity in Liverpool, and the best traditions of William Roscoe, Dr. Currie, and other literary men are still maintained there. The library is a valuable one, and contains the interesting Roscoe Collection. It is specially strong in local books and maps, possessing the only complete set of Liverpool Directories known, and there is a small but interesting collection of old prints relating to Liverpool, some of which have, by the kind permission of the Committee, been reproduced in this work.

THE LYCEUM NEWS ROOM — THE LIVERPOOL LIBRARY—BOLD STREET. *Drawn by Pyne, engraved by Jordan. In the possession of the publishers.*

THIS handsome classical building, which was erected on the site of a timber-yard, was commenced in 1800 and completed in 1803. It was built from the design of T. Harrison, of Chester, and cost £11,000. It contains under one roof a news room, library, and of late years a club; the library and news room are distinct institutions, with different proprietors and committees of management. The history of the library dates back to 1757, with the publication of the *Monthly Review*. Previous to the appearance of this magazine, a few gentlemen met at the house of a Mr. Everard for the discussion of literary matters, and they agreed to take the magazine and circulate it among the members of the little circle. Gradually other books were added, and on November 17, 1758, the coterie was able to issue its first catalogue of 450 volumes. The library was afterwards removed to Lord Street, and by 1803 found its present home. William Roscoe, Dr. Currie—the first editor of Robert Burns' Works—the Rev. John Yates, and William Rathbone were prominent members of the library.

Bold Street was named after the Bold family, who possessed property in it. Late in the eighteenth century there was still a dairy farm in the street, and a well of good water, which the owner turned to profitable account by selling the water to his needy neighbours at one halfpenny per bucket. The date of this view is 1828.





THE ROYAL INSTITUTION AND COLQUITT STREET.

From a drawing by G. and C. Pyne, in the Mayer Papers in the Liverpool Free Public Library.

THIS street is named after John Colquitt, the Town Clerk, who resided in Wood Street and owned the land in the neighbourhood. The street was then on the outskirts of the town, and the houses still remaining there attest to the opulence of the residents in the early days. The street will always be regarded with pride by Liverpool people, because of its connexion with literature, science, and art, for in this street, in the house of Thomas Parr, which was purchased for the purpose, was established an Institute to promote the increase and diffusion of literature, science, and art. The Institute was founded in 1814, and incorporated by Royal Charter 1822; the cost of the house and alterations being about £14,000, which was defrayed by subscriptions of £50 and £100 each. The building was opened on November 25, 1817, on which occasion Mr. William Roscoe delivered an address "on the origin and vicissitudes of literature, science, and art." On the ground floor the Literary and Philosophical Society met, with Mr. William Roscoe as President. There was a room for the use of the Liverpool Academy, and another for the paintings purchased at the sale of William Roscoe's effects. That excellent boys' school, the "Royal Institution," was established to give more than the ordinary education, and many of the leading families in Liverpool sent their sons there. The head master, Mr. Dawson William Turner, is still remembered in Liverpool with affection.

The drawing from which this plate is reproduced was made in the year 1823.

ST. LUKE'S CHURCH. *From a drawing by J. Allom, in the Mayer Papers, Liverpool Free Public Library.*

ON December 13, 1802, a Select Committee was appointed to carry into effect the order of the Council which was made as far back as the 2nd day of January 1793, for erecting a church on a piece of land purchased for that purpose and situated on the north-east side of Berry Street, opposite the south end of Renshaw Street and Bold Street. The foundation stone was not laid until 1811, when the Mayor, James Drinkwater, performed the ceremony. The work progressed very slowly, and for some reason ceased ; but was proceeded with again with some show of energy in 1826, and the church was completed in 1831. The design is attributed to John Foster, the Corporation architect, and the architecture has been freely criticized. One very competent critic states that it shows copyism in every line, and describes it as a *rifacciamento* of scraps put together with much painstaking care ; whilst another critic writing at about the same date says, "it is a chaste specimen of the decorative Gothic order that may vie with any similar erection in the Kingdom."

The engraving presents a north-west view of the church, and shows (on the left) the south end of Renshaw Street ; on the right the east end of Bold Street ; and, in the middle distance, Berry Street, and the tower of St. Mark's Church, Upper Duke Street. On account of real or supposed danger, this tower was taken down in the year 1830 ; the whole church has just been demolished in order that another open space for the people may be obtained. The drawing is undated, but it was engraved in 1829.





THE BOWLING-GREEN INN: THE BIRTHPLACE OF WILLIAM ROSCOE. *From a drawing by Samuel Austin in the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

THE inn was situated in Mount Pleasant in days when Mount Pleasant stood outside the town, and was an eminence where one might linger to enjoy the prospect, or rest on the farm gates to watch the dusty carts descend into the town.

At the summit of the hill, near the corner of the road, stood this quaint hostelry, which presents few architectural attractions, and certainly would not find a place here if it had not been the birthplace of one of Liverpool's most eminent citizens, and of one who was distinguished on every side of life he touched—as a husband, father, scholar, poet, citizen, and lover of fine arts.

The inn was much frequented, not only for the refreshment it afforded, but for the recreation of the bowling-green and the attractiveness of its large garden, for William Roscoe's father eked out his small income by the cultivation of an extensive market garden.

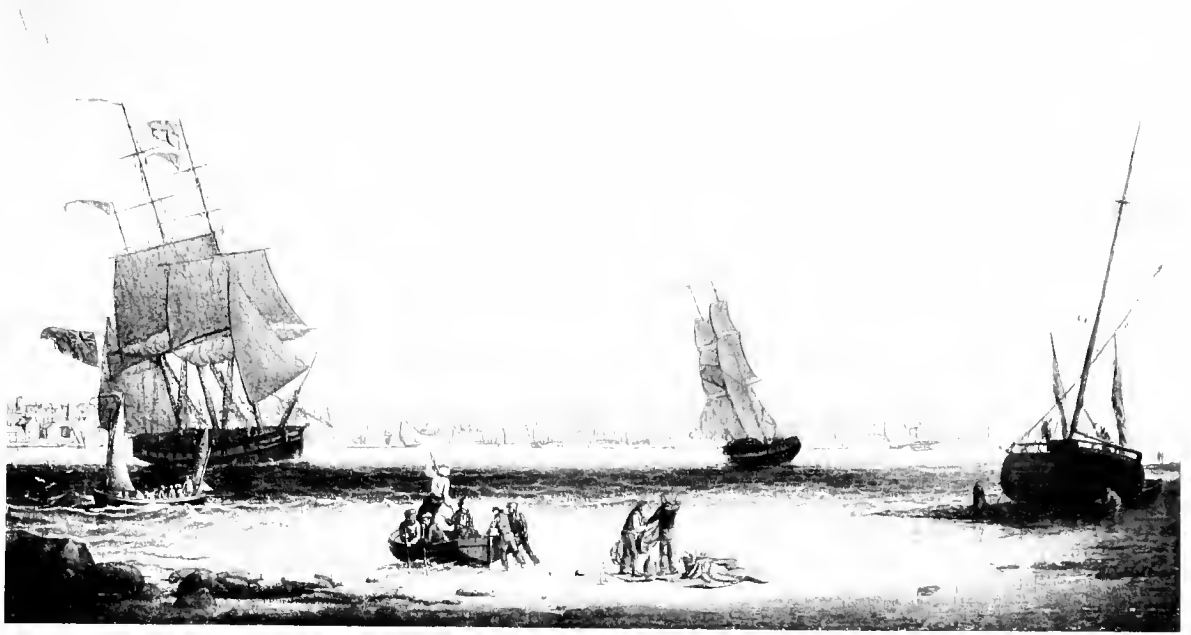
William Roscoe, in a letter to a friend, alludes to the drawing here reproduced, and says, "I was born on the 8th day of March 1753, at the Old Bowling-Green House on Mount Pleasant, one of the oldest houses yet standing in Liverpool, and of which an excellent drawing by that rising artist, Austin, is engraved."

This is not the place to attempt a full account of William Roscoe's long and useful life, nor even to print a list of all his published works. Briefly stated, he helped his father in the market garden until 1769, after which he was articled to John Eyes, Jun., and then to Peter Ellames, attorneys in Liverpool, being admitted an attorney in 1774. In 1777 he published "Mount Pleasant: a Descriptive Poem," and in 1793 John MacCreery began to print the "Life of Lorenzo de Medici," which was published in Liverpool in 1795. The following year he retired from his profession and purchased Allerton Hall. He entered the Bank of Messrs. William Clarke and Sons in the year 1800 as partner, and in October 1806 was elected Member of Parliament for his native town. In politics he was a Whig, and was strongly in favour of the abolition of slavery. In 1816 Roscoe's bank suspended payment, and to satisfy in part the claims he sold his books and his collection of prints and pictures. A selection of his books was purchased by friends, and now forms a portion of the Roscoe Collection in the Athenæum Library.

The "Life and Pontificate of Leo the Tenth" was published in Liverpool in 1805. The author died at his house in Lodge Lane on June 30, 1831, and was buried in the burial-ground attached to the Unitarian Chapel, Renshaw Street, Liverpool.

VIEW OF LIVERPOOL IN 1825. *Oil painting by Robert Salomon, in the Liverpool Museum.*

THIS view is taken from Seacombe at an interesting period, for the year before, Castle Street and Lord Street were lighted by gas for the first time, and the lighting gradually spread to the whole town. It was high time the matter was taken in hand, for a Londoner writes at a little earlier date: "I wish to be informed by some of your Lancashire readers, why that justly celebrated town of Liverpool is so shockingly ill-paved and lighted? It is certainly the worst paved town in the Kingdom." Happily the lighting and paving were seen to soon after that date, and Liverpool has been for many years one of the best lighted and best paved towns in the kingdom.





RANELAGH STREET. *From a drawing by Herdman, in the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

RANELAGH STREET is named on Chadwick's Map of 1725 the way "To Manchester." The Pool used formerly to follow the course of about Paradise Street and Whitechapel, cutting off the district of Church Street at high tide; but when the Pool was bridged Church Street developed, and afterwards Ranelagh Street, the line of traffic being along Lime Street—then called Limekiln Lane—to and up London Road, presumably to avoid Shaw's Brow, then very steep, but which formed the most direct line of access to London Road from the centre of the town. The picture represents the street in the year 1825, when it was a quiet and unpretending suburb of Liverpool, and is copied from a contemporary drawing by the Rev. Dr. Raffles. The point of view is from Lime Street, looking towards Church Street, and the large house at the left corner was the residence of the Harveys. In the distance are seen the shops in Church Street, and beyond are the Cheshire hills, with the mill and signals on Bidston Hill. The street took its name from a famous hostelry, named the "White House" on Perry's map of 1769; but a new and energetic proprietor laid out its large gardens attractively, changed the name to "Ranelagh House and Gardens," and gave open air concerts and firework displays. The inn occupied the site of the present Adelphi Hotel.

WHITECHAPEL, NORTH-WEST SIDE. *From a drawing by W. G. Herdman, in the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

WHITECHAPEL is built over a portion of the bed of the Pool, and at one time received the drainage of the fields which lay to the east of it, including, of course, the stream which flowed from the Moss Lake, which was a bog occupying most of the district between the modern Hope Street on the west, Brownlow Hill Workhouse and part of Paddington on the north, Crown Street and Kimberley Street on the east, and Croxteth Road and South Street on the south. Of this stream of water Edward Moore observes: "Therefore I hope the town will never lose the advantage of the water coming that way, for if they do, all they are worth cannot procure a stream to cleanse this Pool, as above said." Small wonder that Whitechapel was at one period called Frog Lane, for there would be ample accommodation for the frogs on the marshy ground on either side of the Pool which ran along its entire length; and in the map published by R. Williamson in 1766, and in Perry's map, 1769, it is designated "Frog Lane." John Eyes' plan of 1765 spells it "Frogg Lane."

Boats are said to have been built in Whitechapel on the banks of the Pool, and in the "Annals of Liverpool" for 1663 there is a note stating "ordered that no more boats be built in Whitechapel"; but on consulting the Town Records of that date no such order is recorded, and it seems improbable that it ever was made, for the name Frog Lane appears constantly in plans and documents, and was not altered to Whitechapel until a much later date. In the Directory of 1781 it assumes the name of Whitechapel.


JOHN JONES
W BENNETT



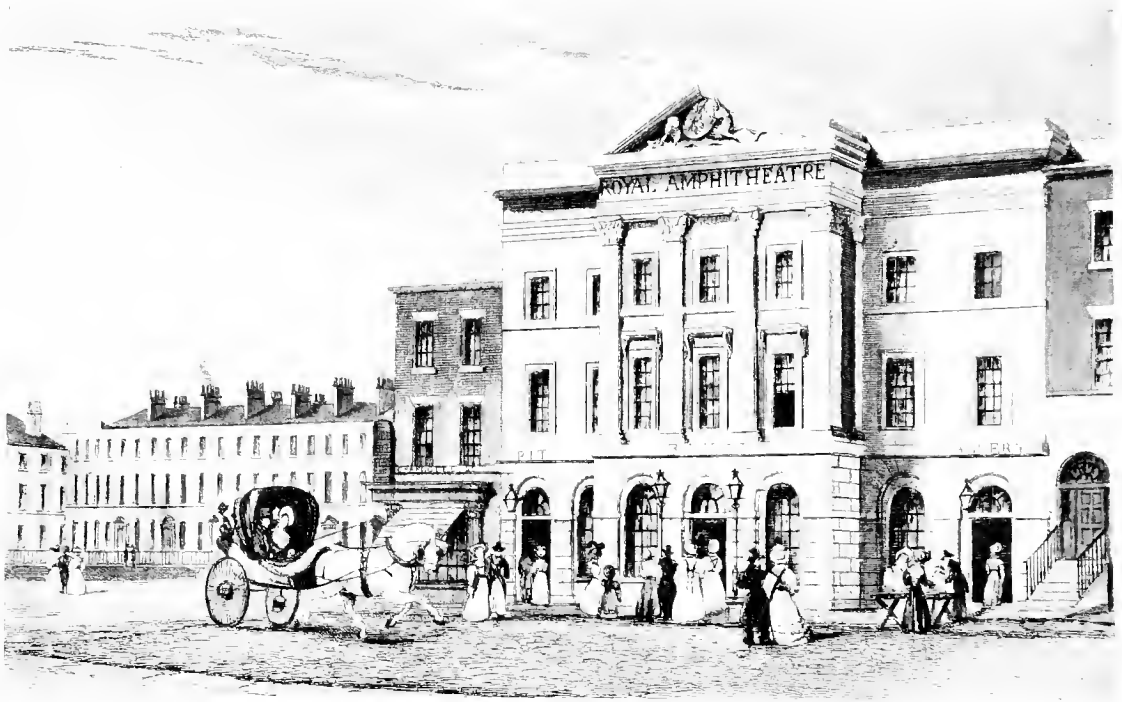
THEATRE ROYAL. *From a drawing by E. Beattie, in the possession of Messrs. Rankin, Gilmour and Co., Ltd.*

BEFORE the erection of this theatre in Williamson Square there was a theatre in Drury Lane, which was managed with much spirit for a number of years, and to which the principal London actors came. This theatre fell into disuse on the erection of the Theatre Royal, which was opened in June 1772, on which occasion a prologue was read by George Colman, a writer of somewhat loose poems. The theatre was ably managed, and some capital acting was to be seen there, as well, sometimes, as much rowdyness, and many free fights. It was in this theatre one evening that George Cooke was playing in the character of Richard III, when some one in the audience hissed, it is said because the actor was not sober. Cooke paused, and then advancing until he stood near the footlights, looked steadily at the audience, and told them "he was not on the stage to be insulted by a set of wretches," adding, according to Mathews' "Anecdotes of Actors," "there is not a brick in your dirty town but what is cemented by the blood of a negro" —a remark which is said to have gone home, for large fortunes had been made in Liverpool by the Slave Trade.

THE ROYAL AMPHITHEATRE, LIVERPOOL. *Drawn by Harwood, engraved by Rogers. In the possession of the publishers.*

THIS theatre, situated in Great Charlotte Street, was built in 1825, and opened January 27, 1826. It was erected for equestrian and dramatic exhibitions, and a contemporary writer says : " the audience part of the house is fitted up in the most convenient, tasteful, and brilliant style. The front of the three tiers of boxes presents to the eye a prevailing mass of crimson ground, enriched with burnished gold mouldings and ornaments, and the splendid gas chandeliers serve to shed over the whole place the glow and radiance of an Oriental Palace." At one period the theatre was leased to Andrew Ducrow, the equestrian, and proprietor of Astley's Amphitheatre, London, who gave displays of daring skill, and was patronized by King William IV.

The extensive stabling for the large stud of horses was removed when the Royal Court Theatre, which now occupies its site, was built.


ROYAL AMPHITHEATRE



RICHMOND FAIR, 1857. *From a drawing by W. G. Herdman in the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

"RICHMOND FAIR" is the title Herdman gives this drawing, and that was the name the place was generally known by; but its correct designation was "The Richmond Woollen Hall." The building was erected in 1787 for the sale of woollen goods, and there were rooms in it which were let to dealers either permanently, or temporarily when linen and woollen goods fairs were held in Liverpool. These fairs did not find favour in the eyes of the linen and woollen drapers, and were ultimately discontinued. In 1828 a petition from the inhabitants of Richmond Row was before the Council praying that Richmond Fair be converted into a market place, but the prayer of the petitioners was not granted, and the building was eventually converted into cottage tenements. These were demolished in 1909, and on their site was erected the Franciscan Church of St. Mary of the Angels.

THE OLD FALL WELL. *From a drawing by E. Beattie, in the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

BEATTIE states that he made this drawing from "an original drawing," but does not mention the name of the artist, nor the date at which it was made. It shows the four windmills which stood on the present site of Lime Street, and which were there in 1771 ; whilst the building on the left is the back of the old asylum, and marks about the site of the south end of St. George's Hall.

The old Fall Well stood originally on the Great Heath, and was a boon to the people within its reach, because it afforded an excellent supply of good water, which all were free to use. It must be remembered that there was no public water-supply in the town in those days, and private owners of a good spring put a price on this necessary of life and sold it in the streets, or to those who cared to fetch and carry at the well. A writer in 1797 says, "the whole number of water carts employed is 41, and this is no small nuisance."

The Council took care of the Old Fall Well, and in 1635 ordered "that no manner of person shall wash either yarne or woole there upon paine of three shillings and four pence fine for every offence."

The well stood near the corner of the present St. John's Lane and Roe Street.





LIME STREET. *From a drawing by W. G. Herdman, in the possession of Messrs. Rankin, Gilmour and Co., Ltd.*

ALTHOUGH entitled by Herdman a view of Lime Street, that street is not visible in his picture. The view is taken from the rising ground now excavated for the back part of Lime Street Railway Station, looking towards the river, and Lime Street lies immediately beyond the two largest mills. Herdman copied from an old drawing in the Foster-Tinne collection, probably by John Foster senior, and fixed the date as 1797; but, as the original roof (see Plate VII) of the Town Hall is discernible in the distance, the date must be 1795 at the latest (because the roof was destroyed by fire in that year) and may be a few years earlier. The mill on the extreme right stood at the top of Shaw's Brow, where the Steble Fountain now stands; and the other three mills occupied ground along the line of the modern Hotham Street. Lime Street was previously called Limekiln Lane, after some lime works which stood close to Lord Nelson Street, and which were suppressed as a nuisance in 1804. The neighbourhood seems to have been used by the sporting fraternity, who went to the fields hard by to witness pugilistic encounters, dog fights, and cock fights, the brawling and rowdyness of which, especially on Sundays, at length caused the authorities to interfere.

The Infirmary (seen between the two windmills on the right-hand side of the picture) stood on the site of St. George's Hall, and was erected in 1748, the first President being Edward, Earl of Derby. The wings of the Infirmary were used as a Seamen's Hospital, and it was on account of the patients in the Infirmary that the lime-kilns were suppressed as being injurious to them.

In the foreground of the picture will be noted men at work on a rope-walk, rope-making being then a not inconsiderable industry in the town.

LIME STREET. *From a drawing by W. G. Herdman, in the possession of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board.*

THIS drawing was made in 1857, and shows Lime Street, before the two tall granite columns—called sometimes "The Candlesticks"—were removed. They now occupy a place in the Sefton Park Road and the Aigburth Road gateway entrances to Sefton Park. The stone lions were originally placed as in this picture, and were afterwards removed to their present positions.

The old London and North Western Railway station, seen on the right of the picture, occupied the site of Waterworth's Fields, and was built, from a design by John Foster, in the year 1836.

A curious and cruel sport used to take place in Waterworth's Fields on Shrove Tuesday. A number of boys with pinioned arms were set to chase a cock, which became the property of the boy who could capture it, either by flinging his body upon it, or by seizing it with his teeth.





ST. GEORGE'S HALL. *From a print in the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

ON the Coronation day of Queen Victoria, June 28, 1838, the foundation stone of the building was laid by Mr. William Rathbone, the Mayor. The design was altered during the progress of the building, and in October 1851, the hall was still in an incomplete state when visited by the Queen and the Prince Consort; but the statues seen on the pedestals facing south were never placed in that position, and there are various other small modifications. Good prints of the hall are scarce, and this is one of the most interesting. The hall was opened September 18, 1854, by the Mayor, Mr. John Buck Lloyd, and the Town Council. The architect was Harvey Lonsdale Elmes, whose design was accepted in open competition. He died in the year 1847, and the work was finished, including much original decorative detail, by C. R. Cockerell.

The print shows the tower of St. John's Church, the foundation stone of which was laid in 1775, the church being dedicated to St. John the Baptist. The building seems to have taken nearly eight years to complete, for the church was not consecrated until 1783. It was taken down in the year 1898. The spot on which it stood, together with the burial-ground, is now a public garden and contains some monuments of great interest. Previous to the erection of the church the Great Heath stretched its weary length over the site, and a part of the Heath was enclosed for a general burial-ground.

SHAW'S BROW, NORTH SIDE. *From a drawing by W. P. Herdman, in the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

IT was in honour of Sir William Brown, who gave the building of the Free Public Library and Museum to the town, that the name of Shaw's Brow was changed to William Brown Street. Previous to its widening, the street was a steep, narrow, tortuous way, forming one of the outlets of the town by way of Dale Street.

Not far from the Great Heath, early in the eighteenth century Samuel Shaw had a pottery works. They were situated near the lower east end of the north side of Dale Street, extending from Fontenoy Street nearly to Trueman Street. As his business grew the works probably extended across the Pool to the Great Heath, on which Shaw's Brow was situated. Samuel Shaw was succeeded by his son Thomas Shaw, and Mr. William Chaffers in his book "Pottery and Porcelain" states definitely that "Alderman Thomas Shaw had a bank for making pottery, situated at Shaw's Brow," and undoubtedly Shaw's Brow was named after him, although his main works were at the old address. Alderman Thomas Shaw was a clever potter and a successful business man, besides taking an active interest in the welfare of his town, of which he was an alderman and mayor. He died in February 1779.

Richard Chaffers, the most famous of all the Liverpool potters, served his apprenticeship with Alderman Thomas Shaw. Mr. Chaffers, like Mr. Shaw, resided in Dale Street, having his manufactory on the north side of Shaw's Brow, and his moulding houses on the site of Islington Terrace. He took John and Samuel Livesley's business premises, the site of which is now occupied by a portion of the William Brown Museum. Mr. Chaffers was born in Mersey Street, Liverpool, in 1731, dying a young man in 1765, and sleeps in the old churchyard of St. Nicholas.

After Chaffers' death Seth Pennington carried on his business at the same address, becoming famous for his punch bowls, which were generally painted in blue, with large shipping subjects.

Philip Christian also had an extensive business in the manufacture of porcelain, on this celebrated site.

Shaw's Brow was also famous for a well of water, and in the *Weekly Advertiser* of November 17, 1758, there is an advertisement offering the water for sale at ninepence per butt. The proprietor was a certain Mr. Parker, who declares the water to be soft, and most excellent for washing, and boiling peas.

This illustration shows the street in the year 1855.





SHAW'S BROW, SOUTH SIDE. *From a drawing by E. Beattie, in the Free Public Library.*

BEATTIE made this drawing showing the south side of the street in the year 1849. All the houses were removed in the year 1855, part of the ground they occupied being used to widen the street, and the remainder was added to St. John's Churchyard. In the year 1898 the Corporation acquired the whole area, demolished the Church, converted the churchyard into a public garden under the title of St. John's Gardens, and threw it open to the public in the year 1904.

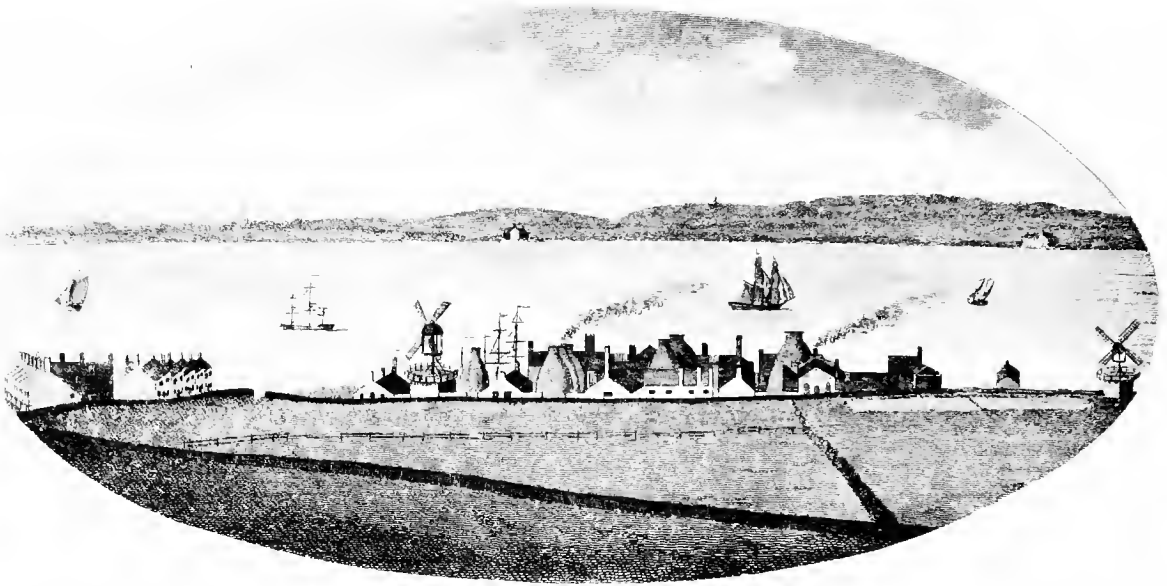
HERCULANEUM CHINA AND EARTHENWARE MANUFACTORY.

ONE of the Company's Share Certificates, printed on vellum, is preserved in the Binns Collection in the Liverpool Free Public Library, and this engraving is reproduced from it. The certificate states that W. A. Ellison is the proprietor of one share, No. 30, in the Herculaneum China Earthenware Manufactory, and is dated July 17, 1810.

The present volume contains several illustrations of this industry, which at one time seemed as though it was going to be Liverpool's most important manufacture, but causes which need not be entered on here, deprived the town of an industry which might have given employment to a large section of the community. The industry was an old one in the town, there being some faïence punch bowls attributed to Liverpool as early as about 1700; and there is documentary evidence that pottery was made in Liverpool towards the end of the seventeenth century.

The Herculaneum Pottery Works stood where the Herculaneum Dock now is. In the year 1794 Messrs. Abbey and Graham purchased a small copper works which had been there for twenty years previous to that date, and converted them into a pottery. Two years afterwards they transferred their interest to a joint-stock company; and when, in the year 1800, the manufacture of china was added, the style of the Company became the Herculaneum China Ware Manufactory.

The manufacture of pottery had by this time ceased to exist in its original home on Shaw's Brow, and the attempt to revive it under better conditions of transit, and with modern appliances and processes, seemed to promise success. But the hope was not realized, and in the year 1833 the company was dissolved; the property ultimately passed into the hands of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board, and the site was utilized for the Herculaneum Dock in the year 1864.





SPECIMENS OF LIVERPOOL POTTERY. *In the Liverpool Museum.*

LARGE DISH (No. 1) with transfer-print of Lord Street, Liverpool. Impressed mark on back, a bird (the Liver?)

SOUP PLATE (No. 2) with transfer-print of St. Paul's Church, Liverpool. Same impressed mark as No. 1.

PLATE WITH TRANSFER-PRINT (No. 3) of Liverpool from the Seacombe Slip. Same impressed mark as No. 1.

TWO JUGS showing transfer-printing on cream ware, one from the Herculaneum Pottery containing "Susan's Farewell," and the other an east view of the Liverpool lighthouse and signals on Bidston Hill, engraved by Sadler. John Sadler was the son of Adam Sadler, a printer and bookseller in Liverpool. He commenced business in Harrington Street in 1748, and it was there that the printed wares manufactory of Sadler and Green was situated.

The BOWL is in the Delft ware of Seth Pennington, and is dated 1760.

SPECIMENS OF LIVERPOOL POTTERY: TWO STREET NAME-PLATES. *In the Liverpool Museum.*

EARTHENWARE plates for street names were manufactured at the Herculaneum Pottery in a most artistic manner; and two of them are fortunately preserved in the Liverpool Museum. They are in faultless condition, most artistic in form, and the lettering is in black on a white ground, the crest being in sepia, whilst the decorations on the border are white on a chocolate-coloured ground.


CASTLE
STREET


HANOVER
STREET



LONDON ROAD. *From a drawing by J. Innes Herdman, after a drawing by C. Barber in the Free Public Library.*

ANYONE perambulating at the present day the busy thoroughfare of London Road, with its large shops and trafficky roadway, could scarcely throw his mind back and imagine the district as shown in this picture, with its old inn, windmills, the heavy lumbering four-horsed wagon, and the stage-coach pausing for the horses to take some necessary rest after their heavy exertion in mounting the steep gradient of Shaw's Brow.

At an earlier date still the road was named "the way to Warrington," and at that period no doubt consisted of a pack-horse track over the Great Heath. The track, however, grew to a road, and in 1775 was one of the two turnpike roads out of Liverpool which were improved on the introduction of the stage coach, which rattled along it to Warrington and London.

The drawing shows the Gallows Mill Inn, London Road, about 1825. The Blue Bell Inn was at the corner of Norton Street and London Road, and here all the principal coaches used to stop when coming into or leaving Liverpool.

THE LIVERPOOL COLLEGE (THE LIVERPOOL COLLEGIATE INSTITUTION), SHAW STREET. *From a drawing by W. Herdman, in the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

THE foundation stone of this building was laid on October 22, 1840, and the building was opened by the Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone on January 6, 1843. The speech he delivered on that occasion was long remembered in Liverpool. The building was designed by H. L. Elmes, who designed St. George's Hall, and is of red sandstone. There were three schools —High, Middle, and Lower—the first of which has since been removed to Sefton Park Road. The school was founded in connexion with the Established Church, and many eminent scholars have received their education there before going to the universities.





EVERTON. *From an engraving by Daniell Havell after W. Cowen, 1817, in the Hornby Room of the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

EVERTON nearly a hundred years ago, and even somewhat later, was a fashionable suburb, and its history has been written with great minuteness by Robert Syers, and published in 1830. Here dwelt the prosperous Liverpool merchants, who erected handsome mansions in commanding situations, and who were facetiously designated by the town residents "Everton nobles." That old family, the Seacomes, possessed large properties in Everton; and here, too, lived "Squire Shaw," who, through a fortunate marriage, became possessed of a good estate; whilst Mr. Sparling dwelt on his St. Domingo property, of which he was inordinately proud. It is said that he proposed to build the Queen's Dock at his own expense; but instead of that he sold the site to the Liverpool Corporation for a large sum. He was most anxious that his family should always identify his name with the estate in Everton; but in this he was disappointed, for his son never resided there after his duel with poor Mr. Grayson, the shipbuilder, whom the wretched fellow challenged to a duel, and had out on a fair green field in Toxteth Park, where he shot him dead on Sunday morning, February 26, 1804. The next year there was another fatal duel fought in a field close to London Road, between Colonel Bolton, of the first regiment of Liverpool Volunteers, and Major Edward Brooks, of the second regiment. Major Brooks was killed, but his opponent does not seem ever to have been brought to trial.

EVERTON. *From an engraving by Daniell Havell after W. Corwen, in the Hornby Room.*

MR. JAMES STONEHOUSE, writing more than half a century ago, says, "Of the outskirts of Liverpool, no portion has undergone so great a change in character and appearance as Everton within the last five-and-twenty years. Within the last fifteen years even the process of metamorphosis has gone on, until one of the pleasantest suburbs of Liverpool has become as life-teeming, cottage-bearing, and street-streaming as the densest part of Liverpool itself. Hosts of cottages now swarm up the hill sides, scramble over the top, and flood the plain on its summit. Fifty years ago Everton was a courtly place, wherein resided the richest merchants, the most distinguished citizens, and the most fashionable and leading families. Within the memory of middle-aged people, the whole range of the hill-side extending from the back of Brunswick Road and under Plumpton Terrace, and the rear of Shaw Street, to Everton village, or 'Town,' as it used to be termed, there was not a house to be seen, while from the north side to Kirkdale all the land was fields and gardens. Very old people recollect how beautiful the view was once from the Beacon Hill, and they have spoken with animation of the lovely prospect they could obtain from Everton Lane, over Mr. Plumpton's breast-high wall, which was skirted by lofty trees, of the distant town, the river, and the Cheshire shore. Plumpton Terrace now occupies the site of the wall, the trees, the brushwood, and the crest of the green fields. To the Beacon Hill came crowds of holiday folks, whenever an 'out' was to be obtained; and truly they must have enjoyed a prospect of no common order, embracing, as it did, town, village, plain, pasture, river, and ocean. From the Beacon a view of fully thirty miles round could be obtained, and under certain conditions of light and atmosphere a distance of fifty miles could be compassed."

Could Mr. Stonehouse see Everton at the present day he would note even greater changes than those he describes.





EVERTON. *From a drawing by W. Herdman, in the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

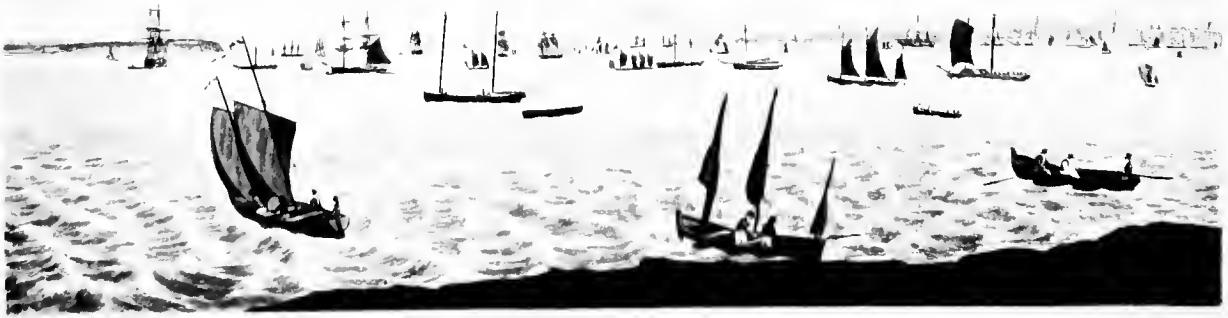
SINCE the days of our grandfathers Liverpool residents have connected the name of Everton with that delicious sweetmeat, Everton toffee, and even now this once delightful suburb is fondly remembered by the fact that on Everton Brow was situated the house were Everton toffee was sold, and which Herdman depicts as it appeared in 1868. Molly Bushell, who first made and sold this toffee, dwelt in Everton about the year 1759, her fame soon spreading far and near, and the business she founded was continued by her descendants. In the centre of the picture is a steep plot of grass on which stands the Round House.

EVERTON VILLAGE GREEN, 1820. *From a drawing by W. Herdman, in the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

EVERTON'S old Village Cross was at a later date used as a sundial. It eventually stood in the way of traffic, but its demolition was stoutly opposed for old sake's sake. However, its removal was decided on, and was carried out during the night; and when some of the old residents awoke the next morning, they were greatly shocked to learn that its old standing-place would know it no more.

The large house beyond and to the right of the Cross, was the residence of Mr. Thomas Shaw, or Squire Shaw as he was usually styled. It was built in the eighteenth century by the Halsall family. Prince Rupert's Cottage (so called because he resided there for a few days during the siege of Liverpool, 1644) was on the east side of the Village Green (the right-hand side, looking at this picture), and Molly Bushell's toffee shop was on the west side; but neither building is shown in this scene.





Treasury &c the Navy, President of the Board of Trade, &c &c, THIS PANORAMIC

PANORAMIC VIEW OF LIVERPOOL IN 1825. *From a coloured print in the Hornby Room of the Liverpool Free Public Library. Drawn by G. Tytler, engraved by Havell.*

THIS and the next fine view of Liverpool from the river were issued on two sheets which could be framed together or separately. They were coloured in a very artistic manner, and are now excessively scarce. The view is of great interest, because it shows two of Liverpool's first steam ferry-boats. In 1821, four years before the engraving was published, the population of Liverpool was 118,972, whilst in 1831, five years after its publication, the population had grown to 165,221.

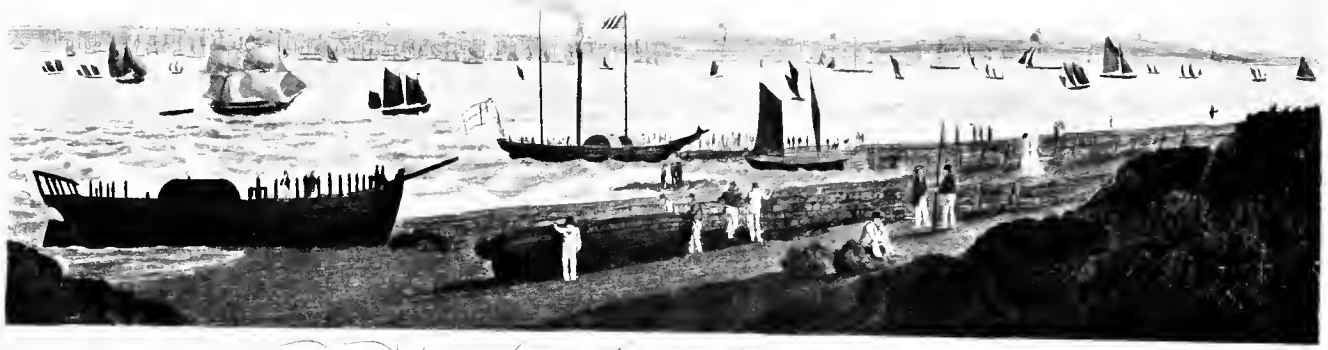
For continuation of view see Plate LXXVII.

PANORAMIC VIEW OF LIVERPOOL IN 1825. *From a coloured print in the Hornby Room of the Liverpool Free Public Library. Drawn by G. Tytler, engraved by Havell. Continuation of view shown on Plate* LXXVI.

LIVERPOOL owes a debt of gratitude to the late Mr. Hugh Frederick Hornby, who in a codicil to his will, dated March 12, 1898, has the following passage.

"And I desire that my executors shall in due time offer to the Authorities of the City of Liverpool my Art Library, and Collection of Engravings, Autographs, etc., on condition, that they shall be kept, as a separate Collection for the use and benefit of the Art-loving public of Liverpool, and in the event of their accepting the same on these terms, I further bequeath to the City of Liverpool a sum of £10,000 to assist the Authorities to provide a building in which to store this Collection, and in which the engravings, books, etc., may be exhibited to the public."

Mr. Hornby was a generous, enthusiastic, and judicious collector of Rare Books and Fine Prints, and the eight thousand volumes in the Hornby Room are mostly in fine bindings, many being exquisite specimens of the art of the best English and French bookbinders. There is also a collection of French books, mostly in the best illustrated editions, exhibiting the beautiful engraved work of the great masters of copperplate and steel engraving—Eisen, Moreau, Cochin, Gravelot and others. The grangerised works, that is to say books with extra illustrations, and therefore unique in character, are numerous and important. There is also a collection of prints, by the famous line-engravers, mezzotinters, and etchers, besides a few engravings of topographical value. The fine coloured view which is represented on this and the previous Plate is among the latter.



VIEW of LIVERPOOL


THOMPSON'S
PATENT
MACHINE
PORTER
&
SPIRIT
VAULTS

THE TITHE BARN. *From a drawing by W. Herdman, in the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

MOOR, or Moore Street, was the ancient name of Tithebarn Street, so called probably from the fact that it led to some rough land known as the Moor.

The change of name took place some time after the year 1524, when Sir William Molyneux of Sefton (who had bought the living and tithes of the Parish of Walton from the Abbey of Shrewsbury in Edward IV's reign) erected in this street a barn, upon a piece of land lying near the Moore Green. The barn was used to store the tithes received in Liverpool from all places in the neighbourhood which paid tithe to the Molyneuxes, and quite naturally it became general to refer to the street as the tithe-barn street, and the original name was gradually forgotten.

The barn stood on the south side of Tithebarn Street, near the corner of Dig Lane, now called Cheapside. It eventually passed out of the possession of the Molyneux family, and was converted into shops, the main structure and the old oak roof remaining, the ground behind being utilized as a bowling-green. A portion of the building was pulled down some time after the year 1820 in order to widen the street, which was very narrow and tortuous, but the remaining portion was not removed for many years afterwards.

THE WISHING GATE. *From the oil painting by John Pennington, in the possession of A. L. Duncan, Esq.*

PENNINGTON'S fine picture shows the spot called the Wishing Gate, which site is now occupied by the Clarence Dock. It was a favourite place to picnic; and mothers, children, sweethearts, and friends assembled there to wave a parting farewell to their loved ones going down to the sea in ships.





THE NORTH SHORE, 1830. *From a drawing by W. G. Herdman, in the possession of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board.*

NORTH Shore is shown in this drawing as it appeared on holiday occasions, and the site is about that now occupied by the Clarence Dock. The old hostelry on the right was kept by one Vandries, a Dutchman, whose house of entertainment became well known, and was much resorted to by picnickers and bathers, for good bathing was to be had in those days at this spot. A little farther on, at Sandhills, the bathing is described as being unusually safe and good, though the writer adds the district is a "wilderness of sandhills." The farthest windmill in the picture is the North Townsend Mill, close to which the Bramley Moor Dock was built.

BOOTLE LANDMARKS. *From the painting by Samuel Austin, in the Walker Art Gallery.*

MANY changes have taken place in the appearance of Bootle Shore since the accompanying view was made, about the year 1830, and it is interesting to note them by comparison. The two pillars, called respectively the North and South Bootle Landmarks, were erected on September 1, 1829, in Bootle Bay, to enable mariners entering the river to take their bearings, and they stood on what is now the site of the Alexandra Dock, Branches Nos. 1 and 2, the North Mark at the east side of No. 2 Branch, almost central, and the South Mark on the north side of No. 1 Branch, about fifty feet from the east side. They were each 100 feet in height, and were removed to make room for the Alexandra Dock, which was opened by King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra, when they were the Prince and Princess of Wales, on September 8, 1881, fifty-two years after the Landmarks were erected.

The Fort at New Brighton and the Rock Lighthouse are to be seen in the distance.





ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, AND CASTLE STREET. *From an engraving by T. Malton, after G. Perry, 1792, in the possession of the Athenæum.*

ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH has an interesting history. In 1704 the Corporation applied to the Crown for a lease of the Castle site, with licence to demolish the Castle, and to erect in its place a new corporation church. Though the application was successful, it was not until 1726 that the plans were passed, and not until 1734 that the church was opened. The new church is said to have included the ground covered by the chapel of the Castle, the position of the altar corresponding with that of the chapel altar. It will be noticed that the church stood upon a raised plateau, considerably above the level of the street. This plateau was the remains of the outcrop of rock to which the Castle had owed its dominating position. In it were hewn out a series of vaults, where many leading citizens were buried. The octagonal buildings shown in the engraving at the south-east and south-west corners of the plateau were put to very practical uses, the western one being occupied by the clerk of the markets, which were held in the space on the south of the church until the construction of St. John's Market, Great Charlotte Street, in 1822, while the eastern one was used as a temporary "lock up" for disturbers of the peace. The architect was Thomas Steers, the designer of the first dock, and in its original form the church was a handsome building. But Steers seems to have overlooked the fact that he was placing the tower partly on the site of the old Castle Ditch, the land of which settled under the weight, with the result that the spire had to be taken down in 1809. In 1819 both church and tower were entirely reconstructed in a much inferior style. The second building was taken down in 1899, and its site is now occupied by the monument to Queen Victoria. The obelisk, to which is attached an ornamental lamp, seen in the engraving, was erected by John Tarleton, who was Mayor of Liverpool in 1764, and it was removed very many years ago.

POOL LANE. *Water-colour drawing by W. G. Herdman, in the possession of Messrs. Rankin, Gilmour and Co., Ltd.*

POOL LANE, now the modern South Castle Street, was so called because it formed the nearest way to the Pool from the town. It lay outside the walls of the mediæval town, and although there must always have been a track leading down to the Pool from the Castle, it does not seem to have been occupied with houses until a late date, perhaps the end of the seventeenth century. Sir Edward Moore mentions, in his Rental, a bridge over the Pool, and Sir J. A. Picton considers it likely that there was a wooden bridge at its mouth "extending from near the bottom of South John Street to a point in Hanover Street near the foot of Duke Street." In the eighteenth century several important citizens had houses here: in 1776 William Crosbie, the Mayor, had his house here, as had also Peter Rigby, Mayor in 1774; and Francis Ingram had a large house at the corner of Litherland Alley. But even in this period, and down to the nineteenth century, Pool Lane was one of the meaner streets of the town, being filled with sailors' taverns, which were often very disorderly. Here stood the town stocks. Bear-baiting took place at the Stocks Market, near the north end of Pool Lane, on the occasion of the annual election of the Mayor in October, the poor animal being first baited at the White Cross, then at the Exchange, and lastly opposite the north end of Pool Lane. Here also were the butchers' shambles, shown in the drawing. The presence of the shambles in the centre of the town was a serious disfigurement. Nevertheless Pool Lane was not seriously improved until the great Improvement Scheme of 1826, which is described in the Introduction (pp. xliv, xlv). It was then brought into line with Castle Street, and assumed its modern name.

The drawing is based on an earlier one of 1798, and shows the upper portion of Pool Lane looking down to the shipping in the old Dock.





CUSTOM HOUSE AND OLD DOCK. *Water-colour drawing by W. G. Herdman, in the possession of Messrs. Rankin, Gilmour and Co., Ltd.*

THE Act for constructing the old Dock, the first dock ever made, was passed in 1709, and when the construction was determined upon it was decided to remove the Custom House from the foot of Water Street, and it was placed, as shown in this drawing, at the east end of the Dock, close to the site of the present Sailors' Home. This was Liverpool's fourth Custom House, and remained in active use until the completion of Revenue Buildings, where was situated the fifth Custom House—see Plate LXXXIX.

The subsequent filling up of the old Dock was strongly opposed, and a writer describes it as "one of the finest harbours in the kingdom," and hints that it was filled up to raise the value of the building land of one or two private individuals.

VIEW OF THE PORT OF LIVERPOOL. *Painted by S. Walters, engraved by R. G. Reeve. In the possession of S. Castle, Esq.*

WALTERS here depicts the Port of Liverpool on a stormy day in the year 1836. There were several shipping disasters in the Mersey that year. Lieut. Walker and four men were lost in the lifeboat in Formby Channel on January 13; later in the year the "John Welsh" was lost in a hurricane on the West Hoyle Bank, the captain, pilot, and ten other persons being drowned; and during December of the same year two other vessels were lost, whilst several pilots were unable to be dropped, and were taken to sea; and the "Sandbach" and several other vessels were driven ashore.





PANORAMIC VIEW OF LIVERPOOL, 1847. *From an engraving in the Athenæum, Liverpool.*

HALF a century separates the Liverpool displayed in this view from the Liverpool laid down in Plate xv of this work. The area covered by streets, buildings, and docks has again increased enormously, and the density of the habitations, warehouses, factories, and other buildings is shocking to modern ideas. The population now numbers 340,000, exclusive of the large numbers residing in the suburbs of Toxteth, Wavertree, West Derby, Everton, Bootle, and many other districts immediately beyond the township boundary. Many changes have taken place. The original Dock has disappeared, and on a portion of its site the present Custom House has been erected. The railway has come, and Liverpool possesses one fine railway station in the centre of the town. The infirmary has been removed to Pembroke Place, and St. George's Hall (not yet finished) has been built upon its site. The Town Hall has been gutted by fire, and has been restored and improved ; and a new Exchange has been raised which, in a few years, will be superseded by the present Exchange. Most of the windmills, still valuable property, are in use, but the stage-coaches, with their bustle, excitement, and triumphant horns, are gone. The age of steam has arrived, and the water of the Mersey is daily beaten into foam by many paddle-boats.

The docks have increased both in number and size ; the total area now exceeds 85 acres, and five years hence (1852) the number of docks becomes 24, and their acreage, including quays, is 200, in addition to which there are 15 graving docks instead of five shown in the previous plan. The ships entering the port number 21,000 per annum, and their tonnage exceeds 3,000,000.

Modern Liverpool is at hand, and its population is as energetic and confident as at any other period. Vast changes are still in progress, but their pictorial aspect does not come within the scope of this work.

THE LIVERPOOL AND MANCHESTER RAILWAY. *Painted by T. T. Bury, engraved by S. G. Hughes. From a print in the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

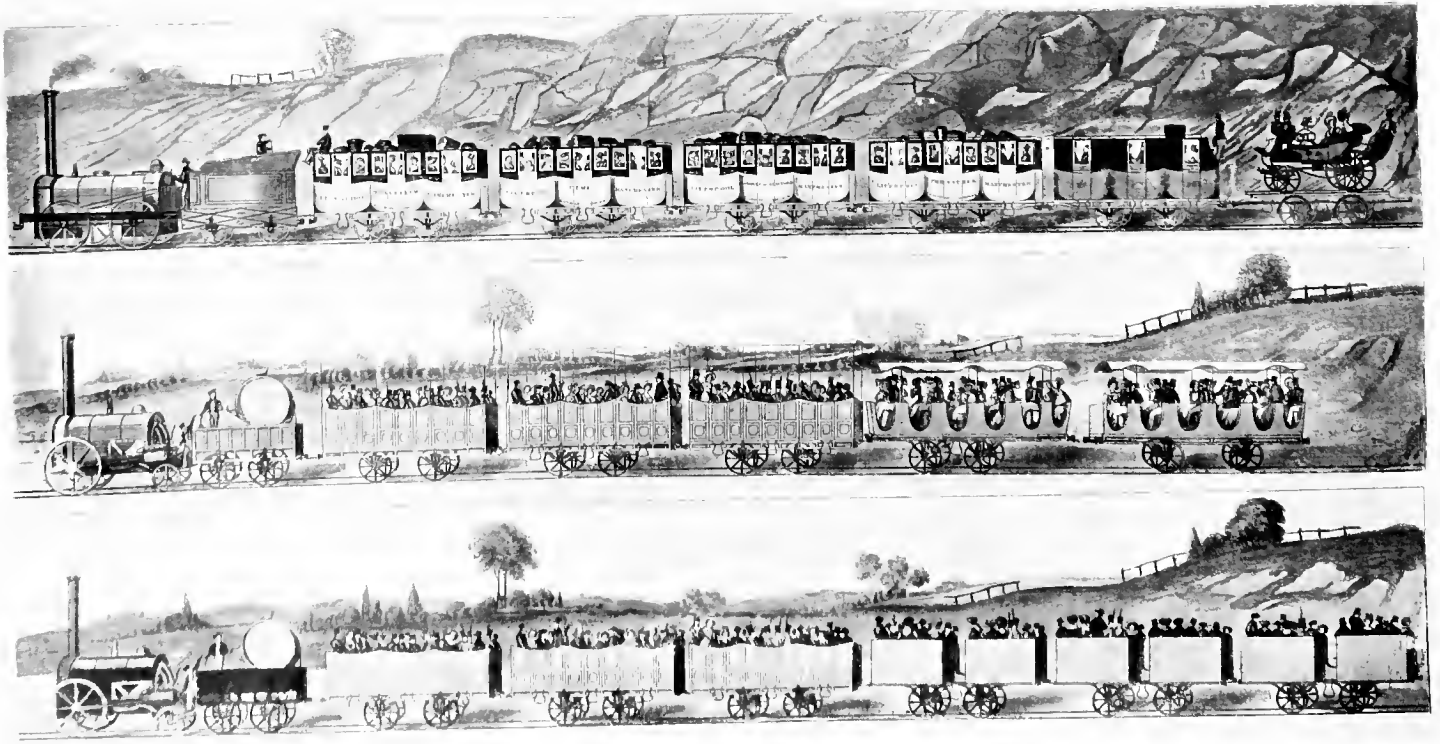
THIS station, or railway office, as it was called, was at Crown Street, and was the first passenger station in Liverpool. Omnibuses conveyed passengers from the centre of the town free of charge, to the station, where the train (without a locomotive) was waiting. The train was then hauled through the Crown Street tunnel by an endless rope, worked by a stationary engine at the Moorish Arch, situated a little beyond the other end of the tunnel, and on arrival there a stoppage was made to detach the rope, to hook on a locomotive, and to allow more passengers to join the train. When the tunnel to Lime Street was completed (in the year 1836) the station at Crown Street was closed for passenger traffic, and used only for coal traffic, and the trains were worked through the tunnel by an endless rope until June 1870, after which date locomotives passed to and fro through the tunnel.

By an unfortunate error Bury, in his valuable book of "Coloured Views on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway," published in 1831, describes this picture as a view of the station at Wapping. But among the Underhill MSS. in the Liverpool Free Public Library is an old engraving of the same scene by another artist, which some one (probably Underhill) has endorsed correctly as a view of the station at Crown Street, Liverpool.

The first sod of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway was cut on Chat Moss, in June 1826, and the railway was opened on September 15, 1830. The first prospectus issued to the public estimated that a capital of £400,000 would be sufficient for the undertaking. A second prospectus, issued a year later, raised the amount to £510,000 ; but when the line was opened £820,000 had been expended, and within twelve months after the opening day the sum of £1,000,000 had been reached.

The first public train ran from Liverpool to Manchester on September 16, 1830, carrying 130 passengers, and accomplished the journey of 31 miles in one hour and fifty minutes. It returned to Liverpool the same day with 120 passengers and three tons of luggage, in one hour and forty-eight minutes. The time included two stoppages each way for water and fuel. The fare for this journey was 7s. each way, which compared with 10s. to 12s. inside and 7s. outside charged by the stage-coaches, and the time compared with from four to five hours which the stage-coaches took to perform a single journey. A few months later the fare was reduced to 5s. each way for the best carriages, and to 3s. 6d. for carriages without seats.





THE LIVERPOOL AND MANCHESTER RAILWAY.

Painted by I. Shaw, engraved by S. G. Hughes. From the prints in the possession of Walter L. Nickels, Esq., and the publishers.

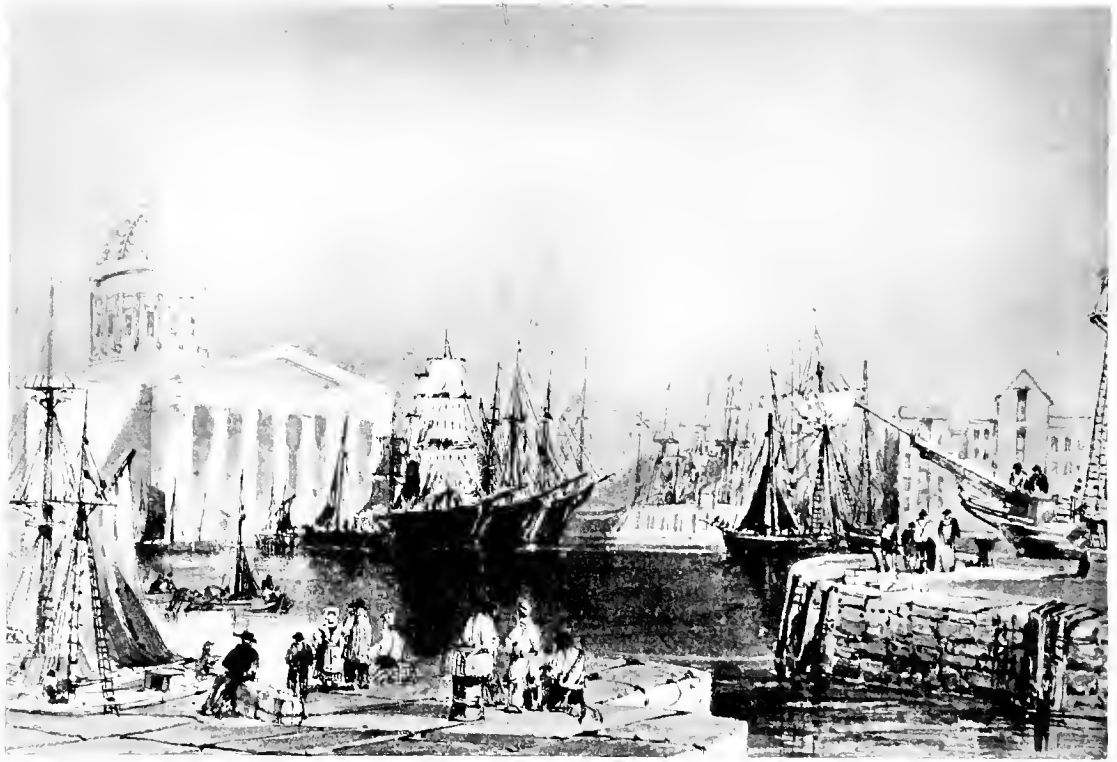
PASSENGER accommodation in the early days of railway travelling was different from that accorded to present-day travellers, and these pictures show the mode of travelling when the railway was in its infancy. A first-class train generally consisted of five coaches ; but if anyone chose to ride in his own equipage, a truck was provided on which it was carried. The coaches were strongly built on the model of the best stage coaches ; each coach was divided into three compartments, and each compartment contained six seats, comfortably upholstered. Passengers' luggage was carried on the top of each coach, and the guard of the train rode on the top of the first coach. When the Mail was carried a special coach was attached to the train, and on the top of it the Royal Mail man sat at the end. The coaches were hung on fairly easy springs ; each coach was named, and the seats numbered. Passengers' tickets consisted of a narrow slip of paper, partially printed, the name of the coach and the amount paid being carefully written upon them at the time of booking. The locomotive was the most recent and powerful, and the speed was greater than that of the second-class train. At first there were no springs on the buffers, and the couplings were merely loose chains ; but the railway was not many years old when Henry Booth of Liverpool, its first secretary and manager, invented the ball-and-screw coupling which is used in its original form at the present day ; and on his statue in St. George's Hall a model of that most useful invention is carved in marble. He also invented spring buffers, and lubricating appliances for the carriage axles, all of which are substantially the same on the railways to-day.

The second-class train also consisted of five coaches, much inferior in comfort to those of the first-class. They were open at the sides ; the seats were narrow and bare, and the backs were short and straight ; moreover the coach-springs were stiffer and the vibration was much greater than that of the first-class coaches. The locomotive was seldom of a recent type ; the speed was slower ; and the train was sometimes shunted in order to allow the first-class train to pass.

There was also another class of train. It consisted of trucks entirely uncovered, some being provided with rough seats, and others having no seats at all. Those with seats were called "outside" carriages, and those without "third-class" carriages.

CUSTOM HOUSE AND CANNING DOCK. *From a drawing by T. Allom, among the Mayer Papers in the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

A PORTION of Revenue Buildings in which was situated Liverpool's fifth Custom House, referred to on page 85, is shown on this drawing. The foundation stone was laid on August 12, 1828, with great ceremony, and, presumably, because that date was the King's birthday, there was a procession through the streets. Revenue Buildings cost £230,000 to erect, and the building was not opened until 1839.




ORIENTAL
OYSTERS
SHIP INN

HANOVER STREET. *From a drawing by W. G. Herdman, in the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

THIS drawing shows the foot of Hanover Street and Duke Street about 1858; but the Sailors' Home is a little obscured by some old and shabby buildings, now happily removed. The foundation stone of the Sailors' Home was laid by Prince Albert on July 31, 1846. The home was built at the instigation of James Aikin, its first chairman, and his efforts were ably seconded by a number of Liverpool gentlemen, prompted by a desire "to improve the conditions of life of British seamen, and to arrest them from corrupting influences."

HANOVER STREET AND THE BRANCH OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND. *From a drawing by W. G. Herdman, in the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

IN the year 1827 the Bank of England decided to open a branch in Liverpool, and purchased for the purpose the house built between the year 1730–1740 by Thomas Steers, the engineer who constructed the old dock. This house was fronted with a stone of excellent design, and was the first large stone-fronted dwelling-house erected in Liverpool. In 1769 it was occupied by Thomas Seel, a large property owner, whose name survives in Seel Street, and its beautiful extensive garden reached almost to Colquitt Street. The house is still standing, and is occupied by Messrs. Evans Sons, Lescher and Webb, Ltd., who bought it from the Bank of England when the branch was removed to the new building prepared for it in Castle Street. It is shown as the second house in the picture, which is a view of the south-east side of Hanover Street from Seel Street to Bold Street. At the period the house was built Hanover Street was a fashionable locality. Mr. Parr's house, to which was attached a beautiful garden, was at the corner of College Lane, and there were other fine houses in the close neighbourhood. Mr. Sadler also resided in Hanover Street, his bathing establishment being much resorted to. He attracted a great deal of attention by his interest in aeronautics, and attempted to cross the Irish Channel, ascending in Dublin for that purpose ; but his balloon fell into the sea when off the Welsh coast, and he was saved with great difficulty by a fishing-boat.





WOLSTENHOLME SQUARE. *From a drawing by W. G. Herdman, in the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

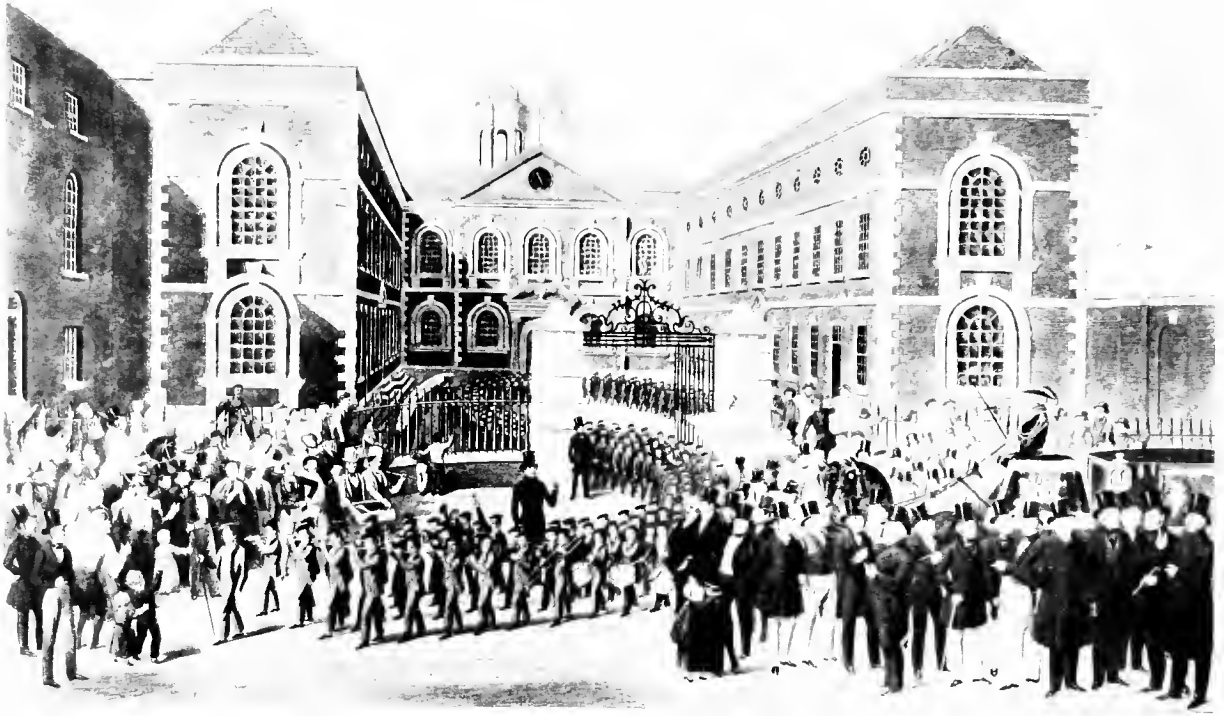
ANYONE entering Wolstenholme Square at the present day, and noticing its rows of ugly warehouses would hardly imagine that at one time it was the dwelling-place of some of Liverpool's most prosperous merchants. When it was built it stood nicely outside the town upon an eminence commanding extensive views of the Mersey and the Wirral peninsula, and was the first enclosed garden constructed in Liverpool. It was built on land belonging to the Wolstenholme family, most of the houses being provided with gardens running up to the Ladies' Walk in Duke Street, which was an avenue of trees extending to about Colquitt Street, and was at the height of its fame and beauty in 1769. But for many years later it was a fashionable parade, and here were to be found Liverpool's youth and beauty. The avenue vanished before the builder's hands, the people of position and wealth moved farther afield, and Wolstenholme Square fell upon evil times. This drawing was executed in 1858.

BLUE-COAT HOSPITAL. *Coloured print by T. Picken, in the possession of the Blue-coat Hospital, Wavertree.*

SCHOOL LANE, in which was situated the Blue-coat Hospital, was presumably named after that charity school, although there was an ancient grammar school, originally situated in St. Nicholas' churchyard, and afterwards removed to School Lane, which was of earlier date than the Blue-coat Hospital ; indeed, the promoters of the Blue-coat School held their first meetings in that building. The condition of the poor children of Liverpool, their lack of education, and bad upbringing, excited the pity of Bryan Blundell, then a sea captain and part owner of his vessel, sailing from the Port of Liverpool, who, out of his hard-earned income, contributed no less a sum than £250, and, in conjunction with his friend the Rev. Robert Stythe, erected a small building, engaging a master at a salary of £20 per annum. Captain Blundell's affairs prospered, and he formed a resolution, maintained unto his death, to give a tenth part of his income each year to charity, and he was able to write : " I may truly say whilst I have been doing good for the children of this school, the good providence of God hath been doing good for mine, so that I hope they will be benefactors to this school when I am in the grave "—a hope that was realized. He was born in 1674, was Mayor of the town in 1721 and again in 1728, dying in the year 1756 in the eighty-second year of his life.

The building was erected in the year 1716–17, and the picture represents the March Out of the School on St. George's Day, 1843, in the presence of the Mayor, Councillors, and Governors of the school.

The school gave—and still gives in its new home—an excellent education, and a good training in character and conduct ; so that there are many men and women, now occupying good positions in all parts of the world, who have to bless the subscribers to this most useful and excellent institution for a happy and prosperous life.





THE LIVERPOOL INSTITUTE. *From an engraving in the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

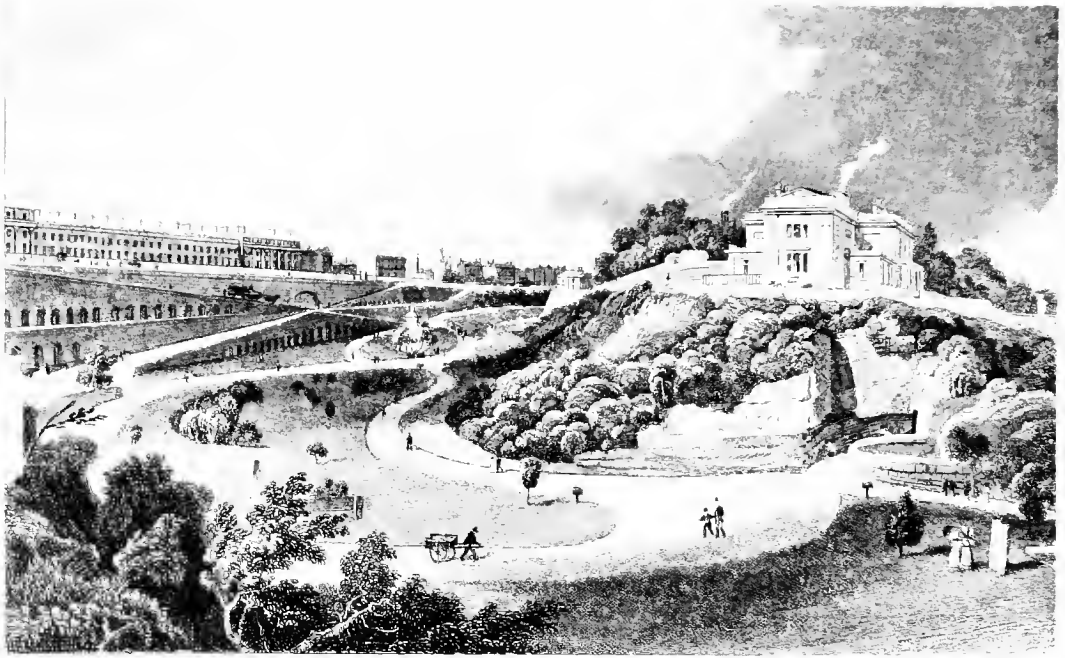
MANY Liverpool men are proud of claiming this school as their Alma Mater.

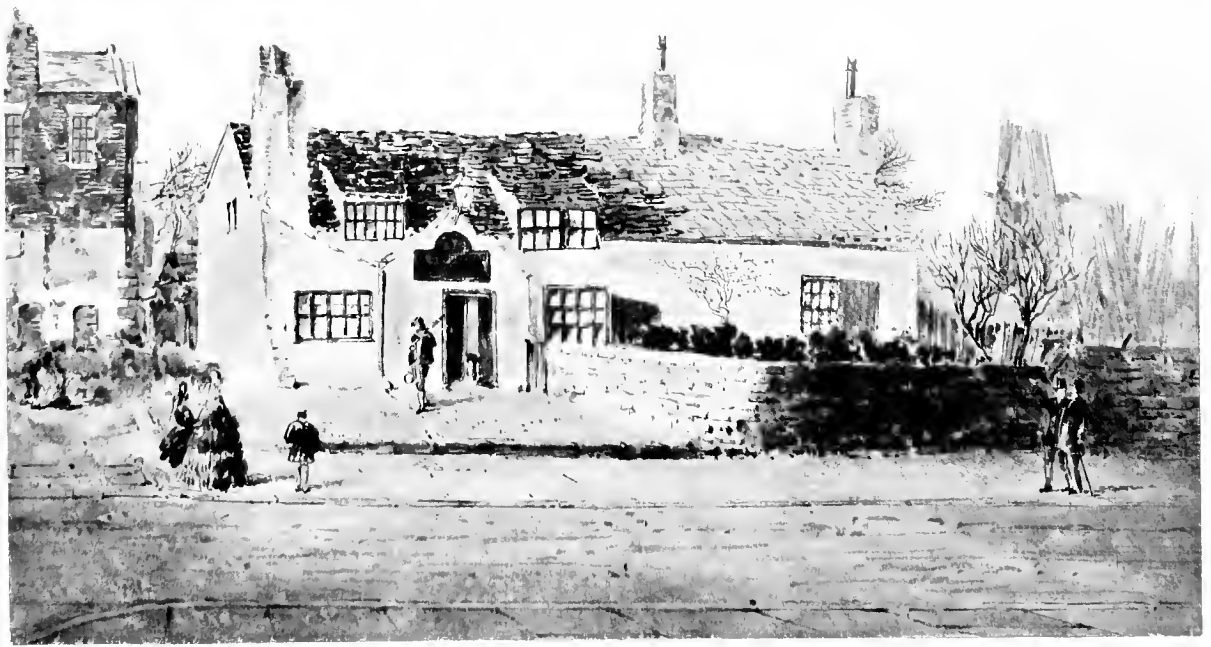
The foundation grew out of the old Mechanics' Institute, which, commencing in School Lane, was removed to rooms in the Union News Rooms, Slater Street, where classes were formed. Afterwards land was purchased in Mount Street, and the foundation stone of the new building was laid by Lord Brougham, on July 20, 1835. The education given was entirely secular, the teaching was good, and the fees as low as it was possible to make them with due regard to the cost. In May 1905 the Liverpool Corporation took over the management and responsibilities of the institution, and since that date it has been one of the Corporation Secondary Schools.

ST. JAMES'S CEMETERY, LIVERPOOL. *Drawn by T. M. Baynes, engraved by Fenner. In the possession of the publishers.*

THE Cemetery was consecrated in 1829, and this view gives an excellent idea of the neighbourhood as it was at that date. St. James's Mount has become additionally important since it has been selected as the site for the Liverpool Cathedral. The illustration shows Gambier Terrace and a portion of Hope Street, together with the Catacombs hewn in the sides of the road descending into the Cemetery.

The ancient quarry which existed here at an early date, was responsible for an accumulation of mounds of unsightly rubbish, and in 1767, when there was a bitter winter, and employment was difficult to obtain, the Corporation decided to relieve the distress by giving work to the unemployed, which work consisted in removing the rubbish and forming the district into a pleasure-ground. The object was accomplished, and a writer of that day describes the pleasure he had in ascending "Mount Sion"—the spot is so named on Perry's Map of 1769—and enjoying the view over the River Mersey into Wirral, with the Welsh mountains forming an imposing background. The tomb seen nearly in the centre of the engraving is that of William Huskisson, M.P. for Liverpool, who was killed at the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, and whose body was interred in the Cemetery soon after it was opened. The tomb consists of a small circular temple, and the marble statue of Huskisson was executed by John Gibson, R.A.





PEACOCK INN, PARK ROAD. *From a drawing by W. Herdman, in the Liverpool Free Public Library.*

THIS picturesque old inn stood at the summit of the rising ground in Park Road, facing Wellington Road, adjacent to the famous Pineapple Hotel, and is stated to have at one time been the lodge of one of the Toxteth Park keepers. Walking in the busy and populous neighbourhood of Toxteth Park at the present day, and observing its long lines of uninteresting shops, warehouses and streets of dwelling houses, it is difficult to cast the mind back and view the neighbourhood as it existed when it was in reality a forest and a park. Yet in the reign of Henry III, the knights who perambulated the forest of Lancashire, laid down the boundaries of Toxteth, which was the territory granted by Roger de Poictou to the ancestor of the family of Molineux ; and in the reign of Edward III, Sir Thomas Stanley was parker of the park of Toxteth, whilst there is a record of 1426 which shows that at that period Toxteth Park was well stocked with deer. As late as 1588 Lady Stanley was possessed of a royal warrant to cut wood from Toxteth. In 1671 the wall enclosing the park still existed, and very late in the eighteenth century Toxteth Park still savoured of rurality, there being farms of over fifty acres in the close neighbourhood.

PRINTED AT
THE BALLANTYNE PRESS
LONDON